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ADMIRAL SIR EDWARD CODRINGTON.

VOL. I.

Sanders Pt 1805

Edwd Codrington

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE

OF

ADMIRAL SIR EDWARD CODRINGTON.

WITH SELECTIONS

FROM

HIS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

EDITED BY HIS DAUGHTER

LADY BOURCHIER.

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WITH PORTRAITS AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO THE

DEAR MEMORY OF AN HONOURED FATHER

FROM

A LOVING AND GRATEFUL DAUGHTER.

PREFACE.

It may, perhaps, be thought late to publish now a memoir of Sir Edward Codrington, who has been dead nearly twenty-two years. The delay has been caused by circumstances over which I had no control. However, although so many of his personal friends and brothers in arms have passed away, it is not, I think, too late to bring before others the character and services of one who was himself an ornament to the profession he so truly loved and honoured and so devotedly served.

To that character, and those services, the key and the incentive were the innate chivalry and high feeling of honour which made professional duty always the first consideration, to the utter exclusion of all sordid or selfish views of personal advantage. His principle was, as stated in his private letters to his wife, to strive to *deserve* credit, rather than to *obtain* it.

It will be advantageous to those who are now entering on life to note how one who began his career with no advantages of training or cultivation,—with no other help but his own personal qualities,—was able by these means to attain ultimately to the completeness of position in which he was seen and known as a refined English gentleman, a highly distinguished officer, the centre of a large circle of warm and true friends, and the cherished ruler of a happy family circle.

I have not attempted to write a memoir. I have wished simply to place the honourable career of my Father—private and professional—before his friends, and to introduce him to others, by letting him show himself in all the reality of his character, through his private letters and professional acts; with only such addition from other sources as was necessary to form the connecting links of his history.

JANE BOURCHIER.

March 1873.

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MEMOIR

OF

ADMIRAL SIR EDWARD CODRINGTON.

EDWARD CODRINGTON was born April 27, 1770. He was descended from an old and already distinguished family: one of his ancestors was standard-bearer to the Black Prince; and since that time the family has continued in possession of the estates of Codrington and Dodington, in Gloucestershire. He was the youngest of three brothers, and having been left an orphan in his infancy, his first recollected home was with his uncle, Mr. Bethell, who was very kind to him. He was, however, early sent out into the world; and, after a period of schooling at Harrow—which cannot have been a long one, for he entered the Navy at thirteen years old—he spent nine years at sea as a midshipman; and I have repeatedly heard him say, that during those nine years (so important for the formation of character) he never was invited to open a book, nor received a word of advice or instruction, except professional, from anyone. More than that, he was thrown among a set in the gun-room mess, older than himself, whose amusement it was—a too customary amusement in those days—to teach the lad to drink, and to lead him into their own habitual practice in that respect. His own strength of character came to his aid; he found himself growing fond of 'grog;' he felt himself in danger; he felt that he could not, at that time, take a little without wishing for

more; and he therefore resolved to save himself by taking *none*. (All this I have heard from his own lips.) He had the firmness, young as he was, to carry out his resolve in spite of his tempters, and through life he continued a very abstemious man, though without refusing the use of wine, and holding no prejudice against it.

He first went to sea in H. M. S. 'Augusta,' in July 1783, for Channel service; and served as midshipman, mate, and acting lieutenant till 1793, in H. M. ships 'Brisk,' 'Assistance,' 'Leander,' 'Ambuscade,' 'Formidable,' and 'Queen Charlotte,' three of which were the flagships of Admiral Sawyer, Admiral Peyton, and Admiral Lord Howe.

On one occasion, a royal visitor going on board the ship in which he was serving as midshipman, the side-ropes of the companion-ladder were, according to the etiquette on such occasions, manned by youngsters. The royal visitor observed to the captain, 'You have a very handsome boy there—who is he?' The captain answered, 'His name is Codrington, sir; yes, indeed, he is a handsome boy; but his good looks are the least part of him; he is himself quite as good as his looks, and better too; and I am proud of him.'

The anecdote may seem trivial, but it has at least the value of showing that, even in very early life, he succeeded in gaining the good opinion of his superiors.

There are not many details to be found now of the early life of naval officers at that distant period; but one circumstance of considerable interest has been recorded by the subject of this memoir, which occurred while he was a midshipman and sixteen years old. He wrote it down some years afterwards at the request of his wife.

Adventure of Thoughtlessness: a Warning to Young Midshipmen, &c.

During the long and severe winters which prevailed in Nova Scotia whilst the country was yet uncleared of wood, the principal diversion of the officers of such ships as were stationed at Halifax was in skating; and the string of lakes

running inland from the side of the harbour opposite that town—which were sometimes frozen over before any fall of snow had taken place, and even after a snowstorm had generally some parts left clear owing to the partial gusts of wind —offered great encouragement to the practice of that exercise. At about eight o'clock one morning in the winter of 1786, a party of us, whose names are undermentioned, set out with our skates as usual for this purpose:—Stafford Palmer, master's mate (now Banks, 1818); Meyrick Holmes, midshipman; Edward Codrington, midshipman; —— Bromedge, captain's clerk; —— Hicks, writer in the Admiral's office; —— Prior, writer in the Admiral's office. Finding no part of either the first or second lake adjoining fit for skating, we all proceeded to the third lake, something less than a mile farther, and connected by a brook. We were equally disappointed in our object here; and a suggestion made by me that it would be well worth our while to explore the fourth lake, which probably was not far off and which none of our shipmates had yet visited, was assented to by all but Prior, who alone had the prudence to resist our importunities that he would accompany us, and to return directly to the ship.

Following the brook as our surest guide, we reached this fourth lake without much difficulty; and we were so absorbed in the wildness and beauty of the scene before us, that we pursued our way to the upper part of it without recollecting how time passed on. Its form was oblong, and its length about three miles; its sides smoothly irregular, occasionally broken by bold rocky projections covered with pine trees, and the whole embosomed in one immense mass of different firs, the contrast of whose dark green with the pure unsullied snow on the lake was very striking. Nature seemed to reign here in all her glory, and to have denied all human intrusion, whilst the wood and the water strove each to encroach on the boundaries she had set them. The trees in some parts were actually growing in the water, and in other parts the water had undermined the fertile banks and exposed the trees to destruction.

Upon reaching the further extremity of this fourth lake, we came in view of the fifth, which nearly adjoined it, and which we had not seen before in consequence of its winding quickly to the left, and being comparatively very narrow. Whilst contemplating the beauty of the scene before us, for the pleasures of which we little thought we should pay so dearly, we were suddenly seized, and each as it were at the same moment, with a fit of hunger so violent that upon

mutual explanation of the sensations we felt we were all persuaded that we could not survive the pain we endured sufficiently long to reach the village of Dartmouth, from whence we set out, and where we knew we could obtain refreshments.

It was immediately thrown out by Hicks, for our consideration, that there was a settlement called McNab's Bridge somewhere thereabout, which he understood was at the head of the fifth lake then before us. And as this lake did not appear to extend more than three-quarters of a mile, I was induced by the excruciating pain I then felt from hunger to avow my determination to risk my life upon the speedy discovery of that settlement.

Hicks agreed to accompany me.

But Palmer decided on turning back; and advised us to weigh well the certainty of death if we failed in our speculation, and the probability of our strength still enabling us to reach Dartmouth in safety if we called forth all our exertion.

Of the remaining two, who, probably from being more exhausted, did not take so active a part in this critical consultation, Bromedge determined to go back with Palmer, and Holmes on risking his fate with us.

Although the day was still unusually mild and fine, there was no time to be lost, and, therefore, after a short but melancholy 'Good-bye' and friendly shake by the hand, we began our arduous undertaking.

The snow in the lakes was generally up to the calf of the leg, and sometimes nearly as high as the knee; and whether from the slipperiness of the ice underneath, or whatever other cause, we were frequently impressed so strongly with an idea that it was giving way with us, that we involuntarily, and in spite of our better reason, ran back several paces for safety. To avoid these recurrences I picked up a long stick, with which I went forward some yards before my companions in order to sound our way. We were proceeding in this cautious manner, following the winding of the lake over which we had gone about three miles without yet seeing its termination, when the pain of hunger was succeeded by a drowsiness which it was extremely difficult to resist. I was now about a hundred paces before the other two, who, although close together, seemed equally silent with myself, and absorbed in their own thoughts. Their thoughts too were probably like mine, bent on that home to which we had so little prospect of ever returning; and they were possibly, like me, repenting the rash determination we had made, and

lamenting the thoughtlessness which had brought us into so serious a predicament. I was suddenly aroused from my reverie by perceiving something large and black upon the ice near the upper part of the lake by which we were necessarily to pass, which I concluded was a bear. I concealed the fear which came over me so long as I had hopes of the supposed enemy being alarmed by our nearer approach. But when it became expedient to close together for our mutual protection, I found that they also had seen this terror-exciting object from the first, and had fully sympathised in the feelings which I had wished to confine to my own breast. Almost all dangers are greater in imagination than in reality. But taught to expect all sorts of wild beasts in these woods, never perhaps before penetrated by human beings, and sensible that without anything but our skates either for offence or for defence, we were in the power of whatever foe might assail us, our having submitted to the 'slavish yoke of fear' may be somewhat excusable. We were subject to deception, moreover, from our sight being much weakened by weariness and long looking on the snow. However, after coming to a resolution to march up to this obtruding enemy with an imposing front, we were relieved by the discovery that it was the stump of a burnt tree which had been brought down by the brook.

Solemn as had been our previous steps, and little as our minds were disposed to mirth, we could not help laughing heartily on contemplating the cause of our immediate anxiety. Short, however, was the period of our joy on escaping this imaginary danger. For at length arriving at the head of this lake, which could not be less than five miles in extent, not a symptom was there of that settlement upon the discovery of which we had staked our existence. We could not find one single Indian mark of a notch in a tree; and the woods here appeared too trackless even for *their* venturing. In the wildness of our search we traversed the brook several times, often falling into holes amongst the hidden rocks which nearly fractured our limbs. But the farther we advanced the more our hopes diminished; and in despair of success we were again obliged to hold a consultation as to what next should be done. Hicks commenced by observing that all the efforts we could now make must be as useless as they would be painful, and that it would be better to give up the point at once. Holmes, whose strength was nearly exhausted, yielded to his opinion; and yet he seemed to cling to life with considerable anxiety. The pains of hunger were gone

by. Nor did either of us know a suffering at that moment beyond the conviction—perhaps I may say the hope—that our loss would be a sore affliction to our parents, as well as to our shipmates and other friends; and we were each fully sensible that to die then were merely to indulge in a delightful sleep, almost too attractive to resist.

Seeing that the point rested with me alone, I summoned up all the reasoning I could. I urged still further effort, as we valued our characters for courage and manliness. I dwelt on the probability of some of our messmates being lost in making search after us—the justice of exertion due to their greater virtue, and our filial duty to those who had protected our infancy; and I derived new strength from finding that I did not plead in vain.

The scene which followed is as fresh in my memory as if it had happened in this last winter. The sun was still up; and by the direction in which it was declining, we determined the line on which we hoped to reach the upper end of the sheet of water above Halifax, called Bradford Bason. Hicks slowly led the way, followed by Holmes at some little distance, whilst I once more struck deeper into the wood near the brook for the chance of making some useful discovery. The snow was in many parts of the woods nearly up to our hips; and whilst I was with difficulty forcing myself forward, I heard Holmes cry out to me for help, 'that he was frost-bitten and could not move.' I instantly turned towards him, and called to Hicks for God's sake to assist him immediately. But, declaring his total inability to do so, he sat himself down in the snow.

Although I found that Holmes's difficulty arose more from the weakness of fatigue than severity of cold, I thought his remaining any time motionless would equally cause his death, and I forced him on with a violence which was little short of beating him. But upon coming up to Hicks I found I had still greater obstacles to overcome; for he was just falling into a doze from which he was unwilling to be disengaged, although he knew it would be fatal; and my repetition of the words used by Doctor Solander on a similar occasion in New Zealand,—'He that sits will sleep, and he that sleeps will wake no more,'—only served to irritate him. After much ineffectual reasoning upon the subject, in the course of which he urged me to resign myself to death with as much earnestness as I pressed him to struggle for his life, I told him as well as Holmes who took part with him, that no argument they could possibly employ should shake my

determination to resist to the last moment the weakness to which they had given themselves up; that I was convinced I had sufficient strength to reach the water-side before dark, where I might possibly get sight of some boat or a fisherman; that if they would still exert themselves I would never leave them; but that if they had resolved on resigning themselves without further effort, it was but honest and honourable that they should tell me so at once and let me shift for myself. At last they discontentedly rose from the snow, and still querulously complaining of the force of my expressions, they again put themselves in motion. I was thrown into a sort of wildness of despair on witnessing the desponding tardiness of our progress which precluded all hope of final success; and I began to regret that I had bound myself to encumbrances but for which I might have insured my own safety, when I suddenly fell flat on my face. For the immediate cause of this, in my then almost bewildered state, I could not readily account; but the effect I cannot ever forget, since it put me to a greater trial than perhaps I have ever since undergone. I had lost all sense of bodily pain, and I felt that to lie still in the position in which I had fallen, was to make dying a luxurious enjoyment; and I must confess that my resolution was so far shaken, that nothing but a sense of shame on recollecting the expressions I had used towards my fellow-sufferers during their time of trial, could have excited in me an effort to get up again from the seeming bed of down on which I was reposing.

Once more, however, I regained my self-command. But in my endeavour to rise, I found my steps impeded by a sloping bank; and after closing my eyes with my hands for a little, in order to recover a better sight, the regularity of the opening in the wood convinced me I was in a carriage road. Such was the effect of this news on my companions, to whom I vociferated it with the utmost power of my lungs, that they stepped forward to the spot with the lightness of harlequins. We were doubting which direction would conduct us most speedily to a habitation, when, at a turning of the road some hundred yards off, there suddenly appeared a man on horseback coming towards us. He, however, galloped away as suddenly; somewhat alarmed at first, as he afterwards told us, by our very extraordinary wildness of figure and the boisterous mode of our calling after him. Upon examination we found ourselves checkered over, both face and clothes, by the branches of burned trees among which

we had passed near the spot where we then stood; and neither the man nor his horse would consent to approach us until they had surveyed us more minutely.

After explaining our situation to him, he told us his name was McNab; and that his house, for which we had been searching, was only about a mile off. The self-interest of this man induced him to conceal the true distance, which was not less than three miles, and all *from* Halifax. Had he not reckoned on turning our distress to his pecuniary advantage, he would have directed us at once to Sackville, only five miles farther than it was to his house, on our road home, and where there was an inn with better accommodation.

This man's habitation was a two-roomed log hut, placed on an eminence by the side of a brook which fell into a lake upon which the house looked, no less, as he informed us, than eighteen miles long.

The situation in summer must have been beautiful. But neither the beauty of the prospect nor the comeliness of the daughters, who were busied in preparing for us the boiled eggs and bread and cheese which their store afforded, could reconcile our stomachs to the taste of either. The very attempt which we thought it right to make, created nausea; but after resting a while we contrived to get down a spoonful of very weak rum and water, which aided in raising our spirits to such a pitch that we imagined ourselves equal to walking as far as Halifax by ten o'clock that night, although it was then nearly four. To the disappointment of our mercenary host, we set out immediately.

We had scarcely paced back the three miles which McNab had led us away to his house, when Holmes began to lag behind. I made him rest on a stone whilst I stood by him, and then helped him along until he reached Hicks, who had not got half-a-mile farther when he found it requisite to resort to a similar expedient; and thus they went on alternately, without my daring to trust myself so far as to sit down also, until at nine o'clock we reached the village of Sackville, having been five hours in going eleven miles. Here we had some difficulty in persuading the people of the inn to open the door to us; for there were none but females in the house, and they were not aware of the harmless state of the guests we proposed to them. They at first discredited our story altogether; but upon reconnoitring us by lights from the window, they found we were not impostors, and did their best to make us welcome. Why, being disgusted with

the sight of food at McNab's Bridge, we should recover our appetites after eleven miles' severe walk farther, I know not; but so it was, and perhaps it is fortunate that the means of the house were limited to one basin of milk and the remainder of a loaf, which allowed us only a moderate slice of bread apiece.

This scanty supply nevertheless gave us a meal of great enjoyment, and we ate it before a fire with our legs in a tub of tepid water which very considerably lessened the pains and the soreness from chafing by which we had all suffered during the latter part of our journey. Of the three small spare beds which the house afforded, one was previously engaged, another fell to Holmes on our drawing lots, and Hicks and I, although the two largest, were obliged to share the third. We had scarcely room to lie down on it, but we nevertheless counted on a good night's rest, and it was probably owing more to our extreme fatigue than to the smallness of the bed, that we courted sleep in vain. We were unable to continue in the same position for one minute together, and neither of us felt a disposition to close our eyelids. And when at length something of forgetfulness had stolen over us, we had so much consciousness of the scenes which had so long occupied our minds, that we should have known no distinction betwixt being asleep and awake, but for a particular circumstance. Haunted by the idea of being frost-bitten, after what appeared to me merely an interval in our conversation, I found myself deprived of all power of movement. Communicating to my bed-fellow my alarm, in which he instantly participated from the same cause, we each made a double effort to move our legs, when lo! a large Newfoundland dog, which, it seems, had unobservedly laid himself across the foot of our bed, went growling off, so discontented by our disturbing him, that he resisted all our efforts to coax him back again that we might again benefit by his warmth as he had done by ours. Further sleep was now out of the question, and we arose at four o'clock in the morning in order to get home as soon as possible. The snow on the road was not much above our ankles, but our feet were so sore and blistered, and our limbs were so weak, that neither of my two friends could go a quarter of a mile without resting: no longer fearing the fatal effects of falling asleep, I also shared in this indulgence; and so altered was the state of our minds that we could joke and laugh at each other's imbecility. Hicks was a stout heavy man, who used to boast of the distance he could go afoot. He was so jealous

on finding that I got over the snow much lighter than he did, and that I out-walked him throughout our whole journey, that this feeling seemed always to predominate in him.

To the prevalence of this jealousy I attribute that unwilling effort which preceded my discovery of the road to McNab's; and it continued so strong to the last, that when I proposed leaving him at Birch Cove, within five miles of Halifax, that he might rest himself and get some breakfast whilst I went on to report our safety, he almost quarrelled with me; insisted upon it that he was neither tired nor eager for his breakfast, that he had nothing to impede him but the blisters on his feet, and that I should wait a few minutes until he could adjust his boots a little, and accompany me. It was not until near nine o'clock that we reached a tavern abreast of the ship, where we ate a hearty breakfast.

Several parties were preparing to go in search of us, and we were most highly gratified to find that Palmer and Bromedge were coming on board on one side of the ship from Dartmouth at the same moment that we entered on the other from Halifax. Palmer was a strong well-set man, much more able to endure fatigue than either of us; and his anxiety of mind must have diminished at every mile he gained, although the distance he had to go was probably greater than ours from where we parted to the village of Sackville. But Bromedge was so exhausted by hunger and fatigue, that after entreating Palmer to let him go to sleep; remonstrating against his cruelty in making him walk on; claiming ineffectually his right to die, or to dispose of himself as he pleased, and making every excuse that ingenuity could suggest—he would even slip off his shoes whilst his companion was dragging him along, that he might steal a little sleep in the snow during the time Palmer's kindness led him back in search of them.

After shortly talking over the difficulties and disasters we had each been subject to, we all went to our hammocks, where we continued in a state bordering on stupefaction for three days together; and I doubt not the others arose, as I did, with a determination to avoid similar follies thereafter, and to advise other young people to take warning by what we had undergone.

In detailing this adventure of my early life, according to my promise, you will find that I have made myself a more conspicuous figure in the group than I could have wished. And in truth, the feeling it impossible to state the facts ever so simply without doing so, has hitherto deterred me from

the undertaking. You therefore have no right to censure me; and you must remember that for you alone I have drawn it up.'

'At Sea, June 1814. E. C.

It does not often happen that a lad of sixteen has the opportunity, or is able to seize the opportunity, of saving two lives besides his own, by the actual weight of personal example and moral influence. In this case, the firmness of character was aided by physical strength and endurance: but while the latter might have enabled him to save himself, it required the former to enable him to rescue his companions; and that only by the utmost exertion of qualities not often developed at so early an age.

In January 1832, after dinner with King William IV. at the Pavilion at Brighton, Sir E. Codrington remarked to His Majesty that 'it was a great pity, and a great loss to the profession and the country, that no person had written a life of Lord Howe; that besides being one of the greatest sea officers we had ever had, his servitude embraced a long period of the most interesting part of naval history; and that his conduct was an example of honesty and uprightness, as well as persevering and courageous devotion to duty, which should be held forth to the succeeding generations.' He further suggested His Majesty ordering some proper person to undertake it. Some time after, when Mr. Barrow's 'Life of Lord Howe' was published, it naturally occupied the attention of my father, and made his thoughts revert to the events of 1793 and 1795, which had left so vivid an impression on his memory.

In home hours he told us many incidents relating to them: some he recorded in his own handwriting, some were put down by my brother, and some by me; all were authenticated by my father. He was not at all satisfied by Mr. Barrow's book; but he was excited to indignation by the review of it in the 'Spectator' of January 13, 1838, in which he found 'shyness and want of nerve' attributed to Lord Howe in the latter part of his life.

Some of the following anecdotes were written down from his dictation with an express view to the refutation of such an idea; and these will, I think, be readily distinguished by the reader. Finding them to be in some cases different from and additional to those already obtained from him, I have now intermingled them with the others in their proper order of time, so as to give a relation, in my father's own words, of the incidents that most struck him (at the impressionable age of twenty) in these days of his first going into battle.

When talking of Lord Howe, I asked my father when he first became acquainted with him; he answered—

I was very intimate with his brother, Sir William Howe, the general, but had never seen the admiral, although he was a near neighbour of my uncle's, with whom I lived. Sir William was very kindly disposed towards me, and upon the war breaking out in 1793 he said to me one day, 'Come here to-morrow morning; I want to take you to breakfast with my brother in Grafton Street.' Of course I was very glad to do so; and after breakfast Sir W. left the room, saying, 'Now, brother, I shall leave you together, for I know you want to talk to him.' I was not a little frightened at this. There was a shyness and awkwardness in Lord Howe's manner which made him apparently difficult of approach, and gave him a character of austerity which did not really belong to him; but such was the fatherly kindness with which he spoke to me in talking over his proposal that I should serve in his flagship, that, to my surprise, I found myself in a short time nearly as much at my ease with this man who was supposed to be so cold and morose, as I was with his brother. My condition then was that of a midshipman under a promise from Lord Chatham to be promoted whenever a promotion should take place. Lord Howe spoke much of his brother, and of the great difference between them, which was so much in his brother's favour, as his superior knowledge of the world and peculiarly agreeable manners made *him* universally popular, while he himself found so much difficulty in getting on with people. He led me on in conversation so as to make me express my feelings and opinions, and seemed well satisfied with them; and he then said, 'You are expecting to be promoted, are not you?' I answered that Lord Chatham had promised Lord Downshire that he would promote me directly. He then expressed his wish to have

me as one of his own lieutenants. Lord Chatham was at this time personally inimical to Lord Howe, and his dislike was increased by a peremptory order from the King to appoint his Lordship to the command of the grand fleet, without consulting either the Minister or the First Lord of the Admiralty. He did not choose to promote me, although he privately wished me well, but wanted to force Lord Howe to ask for my promotion. Lord Howe did not choose to ask any favour from him, but put my name on the list of officers selected for his own ship, 'as he understood I was on the point of being made lieutenant.' Upon Lord Chatham's dry answer that 'there was no promotion at present,' he felt obliged to fill up the vacancy; and thus for a time my hopes fell to the ground, in consequence of a personal difference between my two protectors. Lord H. then said to me, 'I suppose you would not like to go as midshipman in the ship where you are afterwards to be lieutenant?'—meaning that in the change of rank there might be a difficulty in being obeyed. I said, 'On the contrary, my Lord, I should feel myself in a higher situation as mid in your flagship than in any other;' and that, if I did my own duty properly, and showed proper obedience to those above me, I did not anticipate any difficulty in obtaining it from those under me; upon which I remember his answering—and surprising me agreeably—'that he was glad to hear me say so.' Shortly after this I went down to join the 'Queen Charlotte,' where I found that Lord Howe had desired that I might be put under the particular care of Larcom, the second lieut., to teach me the dockyard duty of taking out stores for a ship's outfit, and, under the particular care of Bowen, the master, to learn how to stow a hold.

Bowen, who had a pink umbrella, was standing on the wharf looking at the ship when I was introduced to him by Larcom. He immediately said, 'What! are you the *youngster* I am to take care of? I expected to see a little boy, not a —— fellow like you!'

When the ship was fitted and at Spithead, Lord Howe employed me in his cabin drawing plans of the hold, and matters of that sort, having told me that I should never do duty as a mid, but should act as his aide-de-camp. The greater part of the men that entered for the 'Queen Charlotte' at the Tower were taken by Lord Hood for the ships he was to command in the Mediterranean, which occasioned great delay in preparing the grand fleet for Channel service. The 64's and inferior ships were allotted to Lord

Howe, and the superior ones to Lord Hood. This delay in collecting the grand fleet induced me one day to ask Lord Howe to allow me to go into one of the gun-vessels which, according to report, were about to be employed on the coast of France. To which he answered: 'I see what your motive is in this wish, and I cannot but highly approve of it—you wish to have an early opportunity of distinguishing yourself; but I hope I shall find you a better one than that; it is a very inferior service to that in which I may probably have to employ you. In case of battle with the fleet, when it may not be in my power to make signals, I may have occasion to send you with a message in a boat; and if you can carry that message between two ships in battle without making any mistake, you will show more courage than if hand to hand with an enemy.'

He frightened me exceedingly, but I felt the compliment —that he could even *expect* a man to go through such an ordeal who had never before been in action.

Before the fleet was ready I was made lieutenant, and appointed to the 'Santa Margarita,' Capt. Eliab Harvey; and upon the 'Pegasus,' Capt. Barlow, being appointed repeater to the 'Queen Charlotte,' I was removed to her at the special request of Lord Howe, that I might be employed in the signal duty; and upon the first lieutenant of the 'Queen Charlotte' (Broking) being made a commander, I was again moved to the 'Queen Charlotte' as junior lieutenant. Capt. Barlow had gained high approbation of Lord Howe (when he was First Lord of the Admiralty) for services against the smugglers, and was therefore a favourite, and was named by his request to repeat his signals. (The very hostility of Lord Chatham to Lord Howe gave Barlow the 'Pegasus,' the worst sailing ship, when he ought to have had, as repeater of signals, one of the fastest—badly manned, too.) The 'Pegasus' never got any credit from Sir R. Curtis,[1] Capt. Barlow being one of Lord Howe's favourites, and Sir R. C. always wishing to detract from them, and not allow them to be favourites.

When I was made lieutenant with Barlow, I used on the average to be nineteen hours out of twenty-four on deck, and Barlow (who was strict) used to allow me to sit down anywhere on the quarter-deck. When I was appointed, the 'Niger,' Capt. Legge, was the quick-sailing and best repeating ship, and beat us hollow. I determined to do all I could by zeal, and set to work, taking two youngsters who had

[1] Sir Roger Curtis, Captain of the Fleet.

known nothing of signals, and men the same (except one yeoman). We got to great perfection, so much so that Legge acknowledged himself beat, and gave up, as it was not worth his while paying all his attention to signals, not being specially a repeater. Upon my subsequently joining the 'Queen Charlotte' as lieutenant, Sir R. Curtis never would allow praise to the 'Pegasus;' and on signals being repeated said, 'Well done "Niger," well done "Niger."' I was near Sir R. when he said this, and said, 'Sir, the "Pegasus" has had the signal up at the masthead before this'—but Sir R. never wished to see it. Lord H. had a black and white flag, meaning, the signal made with it will take place after dark. One day when Sir R. said 'Now we shall see the "Pegasus," now we shall see;' while the signal was going up in the 'Queen Charlotte,' it was at the 'Pegasus'' masthead, and Sir R. Curtis observing, said, 'D—— that ship, how could she know what we meant?' I was by, and said, 'Thank you, Sir Roger.'

His valued shipmate, James Bowen, master of the fleet, was often mentioned by my father in connection with Lord Howe, and the two following anecdotes were related as occurring previously to the encounter with the French Fleet:—

After a consultation on what was to be done with the fleet for the night, it was decided that we should continue on the larboard tack by the wind, under a conviction that we should weather the Scilly Islands. This arrangement was made according to calculation by a chronometer under the charge of Capt. John Hunter, who having been a master in early days with Lord Howe, went to sea with him as a sort of amateur master of the fleet. The course having been so decided upon, and Lord Howe having retired to his cabin for the night, Bowen began to show great uneasiness, and continued on the quarter-deck quickening his pace,—his usual way of showing his anxiety. Observing this, I said to him, 'What's the matter, old boy? you seem uneasy.' 'The matter is, Master Codrington, we shall all be lost to-night on Scilly rocks;' to which I flippantly answered, 'Well, I hope it won't be my watch, that's all.' 'Oh Master Codrington, it's more serious than you think.' Seeing that he was really uneasy, from his adding that he wished he could speak to Lord Howe about it, I said, 'Why not send in and ask to speak to him?' He did so, and, when he had

fully explained his reasons to Lord Howe, the fleet was ordered to lie to for the night; and at daylight in the morning the rocks of Scilly, on which Sir Cloudesley Shovell was lost, were seen just on the weather bow.

This naturally inspired Lord Howe with confidence in Bowen's extraordinary professional knowledge. On a subsequent occasion (December 1793) the fleet, of between thirty and forty sail of the line, were in constant danger from a succession of S.W. gales of wind and thick weather, cruising between the rocks of Scilly on one side and the very dangerous coast of France on the other. Under these circumstances, and the main object of keeping the sea being over, it was desirable to get the fleet safe into port. Four days had elapsed since the sun had been visible to enable us to take an observation and ascertain the latitude, and there was every appearance of a continuance of the same violent weather, and the risk of the fleet being disabled by it.

On the morning of December 10 a consultation took place between Lord Howe and Sir Roger Curtis, and Captain Christian, as to the fleet trying to get to Torbay. The two latter urged the great danger of the experiment, and the certain loss of the fleet if a mistake were made in making the land; and the fears of these two officers had led to the decision that the fleet should keep the sea, when Bowen the master, upon hearing the conversation which took place on the quarter deck, went up to Lord Howe and said abruptly, 'My Lord, I can take the fleet safely into Torbay.' After a little consideration, apparently ruminating upon the former instance of Bowen's well-founded opinion, Lord Howe said, 'You shall try it, sir.' Both Sir Roger Curtis and Capt. Christian remonstrated with Bowen on the impossibility of his knowing exactly where we were, and on the probability of his making a mistake and losing the whole fleet in Whitsund Bay. Bowen's answer was, 'We shan't make any mistake.' Sir Roger Curtis then added, 'But if you do make a mistake, recollect you will be the loss of the whole fleet.' Bowen replied, 'The fleet won't be lost.' And then, as desired by Lord Howe, he directed the course for Start Point. This was, I think, about ten o'clock in the morning. The 'Phaeton' frigate, commanded by that able and excellent seaman, Sir Andrew Douglas, noted also for bearing a press of sail, was directed to keep on the lee bow of the 'Queen Charlotte' as far forward as she could go without losing sight of her. The 'Black Joke' lugger, under Lieutenant Somerville, being directed to do the same

by the 'Phaeton.' In this way the fleet continued, the 'Queen Charlotte' leading under all the sail she could bear; some of the smaller two-deckers dropping astern with signals that they were overpressed with sail. At about 4 o'clock p.m. the 'Black Joke' was seen to haul short up on the starboard tack, having run very close to the breakers of the Start, and the 'Phaeton' to follow her example. And the 'Queen Charlotte' kept steadily to the course on which she had started, by which she just cleared the Start Point so as to keep away for Bury Head; and thus the whole of the fleet, with the exception of the 'London' and one of the two-deckers, were conducted into a snug anchorage in Tor Bay by the confidence and skill of James Bowen, the master.

During the anxious days of the month of May, 1794, preceding Lord Howe's great battle, Lieut. Codrington, who was long-sighted and much practised in the use of his strong vision by observing signals, &c., was employed specially by Lord Howe to keep a look-out for the French fleet, which he was daily hoping to fall in with. For this purpose most of the twenty-four hours were spent by him, with either his day-glass or his night-glass in his hand, at the masthead of the 'Queen Charlotte.' The work was very harassing and fatiguing, and Lord Howe had the kindly consideration to order him a chair on the quarter-deck. He scarcely ever went below, except for his meals, and *then* he used to fall asleep almost between the mouthfuls of his dinner. His messmates thought it a good service to him (or a good joke for themselves) to keep him awake; but his need of rest was such, that they found it a difficult matter. They knocked loudly upon the table, threw things at him, called out suddenly 'Codrington!' without even that having the power to rouse him. There was only one word that took effect upon him, and that was a talisman that acted sharply enough: if they suddenly called out 'Signal!' he was instantly awake and up, and starting off to his work.

He did not look out in vain. On the 28th May, the French fleet was sighted.

His good clear sight lasted till a very late period in life, and it was not till his eightieth year he found him-

self very slowly losing the sight of one eye by the cloud of cataract gradually overspreading it. It is remarkable that the eye that failed him was the left eye, and not the one that had done so much work under a trying strain during the time of the Signal Lieutenant's anxious look-out.

Previous to 29th May, Lord Howe, in a conversation on naval tactics with Lieut. Codrington, in the 'Queen Charlotte,' observed that if he had his choice in engaging an enemy with a good English fleet under him, he would choose to do so by night; giving as his reason, that the greater the difficulties to be encountered, the more would the superiority of discipline and seamanship tell in the encounter; and he considered that a good English fleet in high order and discipline would, under those circumstances of difficulty, have great advantage over a French fleet of equal strength. With this conversation in his mind, Mr. C., when Lord Howe was speaking to him of the French fleet on one of the days just preceding June 1, said, 'I suppose, my lord, from what you were saying lately, if we come up with the French fleet at night you will attack them at once?' Lord Howe answered him, 'No; I require daylight to see how my own captains conduct themselves.'

In the encounter of the 29th May, previous to the decisive battle of the 1st June, Lieut. Codrington had a narrow escape. He was a junior lieutenant of the 'Queen Charlotte.' A gun belonging to the foremost division of the lower deck under his charge went off by accident, the ship being engaged, and at the same time going fast through the water; he was struck by the recoil of the gun, which, for a moment, stunned him, and on his recovery he found himself in the lee scuppers on the opposite side of the ship, immersed in water. The first thing his eyes rested on was the deck above, and he believed himself, for the moment, to have received a serious or mortal wound—the great breadth of the ship, and the impediment which the bitts and other timbers presented, made it almost unaccountable that he should have received a sufficient impulse from the recoil to

have been carried so far and with so little injury. The gun, as it was afterwards ascertained, was most probably let off by a wounded seaman who was crawling from his quarters for assistance, and happened to catch the trigger line while passing.

May 28 and 29.

After missing the French fleet, the first thing done by Lord Howe was to steer a course after Admiral Montagu who had gone with the convoys, in order to protect him and his convoy from the French fleet; and about 11 o'clock at night we nearly ran on board of a vessel, a brig; and when boarding her, we found her to be one of the Newfoundland ships coming home with fish, which, with the convoy under the 'Castor,' Capt. Troubridge, had been taken by the French fleet. This occasioned the whole fleet to be brought to; and after a consultation, arising out of the information given by some of the English crew still left on board the prize, a course was adopted for the French fleet instead of for Admiral Montagu's squadron.[1]

On the morning of the 28th, at daylight, I counted and reported from the masthead the French fleet of 27 sail, a frigate, and one I could not make out. On the 'Russell,' up to windward, making signal of a different number, I was told I must be wrong; I repeated I was right. I was called down from the masthead to be told I must be wrong, as the 'Russell' had reported they were different. I repeated I was right, all but the one I could not make out. The 'Russell' in the meantime corrected her signal. The one I could not make out turned out to be the 'Brutus,' the first Razé we had seen.[2]

May 29.

Signal was made to take station as most convenient to form the line:[3] 'Cæsar,' with a reef in her topsails more than the rest, yawing about much, so that she never got ahead of us, being the best sailing ship. (We heard of Captain Molloy frightening the men at the helm.)

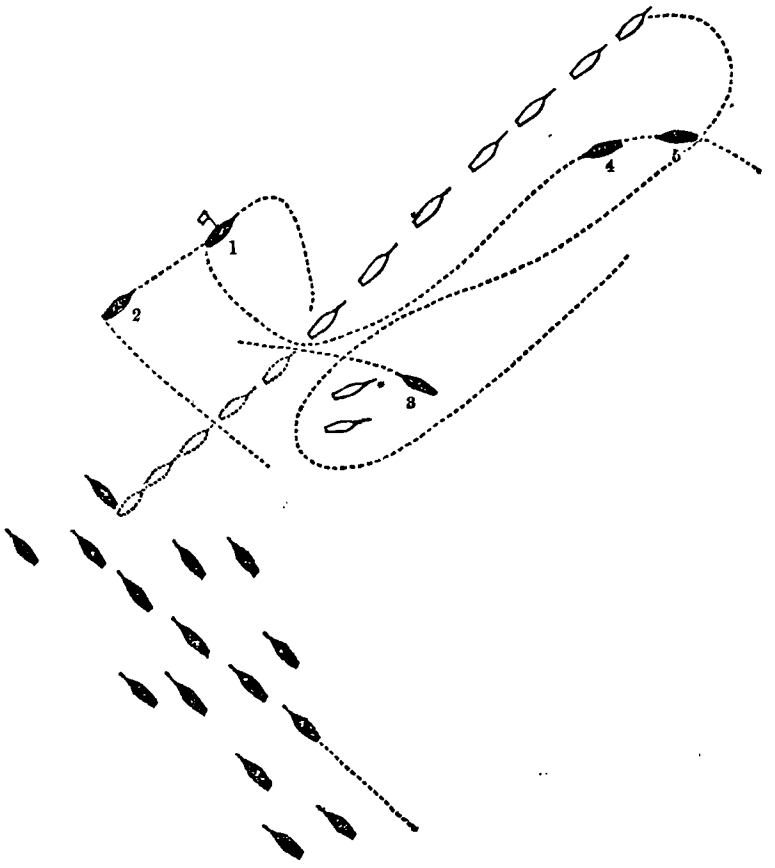
The 'Russell' (Captain Payne) was coming down to 'Queen Charlotte;' Sir R. Curtis exclaimed, 'Where the devil is that ship coming to?' I said, 'Make her signal, sir, to lead the fleet, for *we* must back the maintopsail if she comes here.'

[1] In order to account for the fragmentary character of these notes, I have given the number of the page in Mr. Barrow's 'Life of Lord Howe' to which they refer: they were intended as refutation in some cases, and addition in others.—J. B.

[1] Barrow, p. 225. [2] Ibid., p. 228. [3] Ibid., p. 229.

He said again, 'Where the devil is that ship coming to?' but made no signal. The 'Russell' did come; the 'Queen Charlotte' had to back her maintopsail, and the others astern of her also. These circumstances were the cause that when we tacked we did not fetch the French fleet.[1]

On this occasion we, the lieutenants on the quarter-deck, were speaking our minds very freely respecting the conduct



1. Queen Charlotte. 2. Bellerophon. 3. Leviathan.
4. Queen. 5. Invincible.

of the different captains, and, upon some particular observation made by Larcom, first-lieutenant, on the conduct of the 'Cæsar,' Lord Howe said, 'I desire you to hold your tongue, sir; I don't desire you to shut your eyes, but I desire you to hold your tongue till I call upon you, as I probably shall do hereafter, for your observations.' When the signal was made to form line as most convenient, it was quite competent for

[1] Barrow, p. 229.

Payne, of the 'Russell,' or any other ship ahead of 'Cæsar,' to have taken the lead, instead of coming down towards us and putting himself astern of the 'Queen' (not 'Queen Charlotte'), Pasley's squadron, 'Bellerophon,' 'Audacious,' 'Marlborough,' 'Russell,' and 'Thunderer.' 'Gibraltar' was to take station where she pleased, in order to get into order, and therefore happened to be with them.

The 'Queen' behaved nobly.

On Lord Howe finding that the signals for tacking and engaging the enemy's fleet were not *generally* obeyed,[1] and that the 'Queen' and 'Invincible,' which *had* obeyed them, were suffering much by the enemy's fleet as they passed along their line to leeward, he told Bowen, 'Then tack the "Queen Charlotte," sir, and let us show them the example.'[2] 'Bellerophon' and 'Leviathan' had formed the 'Queen Charlotte's' seconds ahead and astern on this occasion. The 'Bellerophon' tacking immediately after the 'Queen Charlotte,' and following her example, cut off the three rear ships of the enemy's line, and the 'Leviathan,' doing the same, passed to windward of only the two ships that had been disabled by the fire of the 'Queen Charlotte' passing between them. This was the first time I was in action.

The 'Queen Charlotte' then passed towards the enemy's line. I was on the lower deck—the ports were lowered to prevent the sea washing in. On going through the smoke I hauled up a port, and could just see it was a French ship we were passing, and I successively hauled up the ports and myself fired the whole of my seven weather guns into her; then ran to leeward, and fired the lee guns into the other ship: the weather guns bore first, as we went through on a slant, and therefore I had time for the lee guns. The breechings were mostly carried away, and guns running about; all the sand was washed away off deck.

On going on deck, Bowen, in answer to my asking if I had done wrong in firing without any immediate order, said, 'I could have kissed you for it!' Bowen said, 'In going through the helm was hard up, and we were thinking we should not clear her, and we quite forgot to send you any orders.'

The 'Queen Charlotte' passed between two two-deckers.[3] On passing through, after firing the guns, and while they were loading again, it was the second gun from the bow that went off, and I, by the recoil, was thrown from to windward, and found myself to leeward in the lee scuppers, in the water

[1] Barrow, p. 229. [2] Ibid., p. 230. [3] Ibid., p. 231.

with which the deck was filled. I had no recollection how I got there. On leaning on my left arm I could just raise my head out of water. We were obliged to haul up the lee ports to let out the water off the deck. On getting through the fleet—alone—the signal was made in the 'Queen Charlotte' for general chase, in order to bring our fleet up to windward, and so gain the weather-gage of the enemy.

Upon Admiral Pasley closing with the rear of their fleet, under signal to harass the enemy's rear, a signal was made by the French 'Révolutionaire' three-decker, being the third ship from the rear, which was evidently, by the answer of the French Admiral and her subsequent proceedings, for leave to become the rear ship. For she accordingly backed her mizentopsail, while the three-decker astern of her passed ahead: these two ships thus changing stations.

Pasley's squadron had gained the weather-quarter of the French fleet, and had just shortened sail, when Lord Howe made the signal to harass the enemy's rear. Upon this, Admiral Pasley in the 'Bellerophon' bore up, ran across the three-decker's stern, raking her, and then engaged her from to leeward. Lord Howe then made the signal for the rest of his squadron to assist ships engaged;[1] and shortly afterwards, finding that signal was not attended to, it was repeated individually to each ship of Pasley's squadron with guns, and still without effect. Just at this moment the 'Leviathan,' by dint of carrying sail and outsailing the rest of the fleet, had reached the position of Pasley's flying squadron, and was shortening sail, when, observing the above reproachful signals, she again made sail, and passing the rest of the squadron crossed the stern of the French three-decker and engaged from to leeward. This was about the close of the day; and it was afterwards found that the 'Audacious' had followed her example and closely engaged the French 'Révolutionnaire,' which eventually lost her mizenmast, wore round, and, being still closely pressed by the 'Audacious,' struck her colours.

It was after dark, as we learnt by subsequent information, that the 'Audacious' closed with the 'Révolutionnaire,' and engaged her; and in the morning neither of those two ships was in sight. Captain Bertie ('Thunderer') told me he saw the French flag hauled down from the main yard arm of the 'Révolutionnaire' whilst the 'Audacious' was engaging her after we had lost sight of them. Her mizenmast I saw go over. By the log it appears that the 'Niger' frigate reported the striking of the 'Révolutionnaire' to 'Audacious.'[2]

[1] Barrow, p. 227. [2] Ibid.

The signal was general 'to assist ships engaged,' which not being obeyed, Lord Howe asked eagerly, 'What ship's that, sir?' and then, on hearing the names of the 'Russell,' 'Marlborough,' and 'Audacious,' he ordered their particular signals to be made to the same effect with guns.

The 'Gibraltar' (Mackenzie) was up to windward with them from the general line, as she was lately fitted and much out of order, to practise and get in order.

At this time in a state of general chase, the 'Cæsar,' Captain Molloy, the most powerful and best sailing ship of the fleet, had a reef more in her topsails than any other, and never advanced nearer the enemy than she would have done if in the line as leading ship of the fleet.[1] 'Leviathan' (Lord Hugh Seymour), on the contrary, by carrying all possible sail in common with the fleet in general, had reached the position of Pasley's advanced squadron, and was just hauling up her courses when, observing the signal to assist ships engaged, she again set them, and passing the ships before mentioned crossed the stern of 'Révolutionnaire' and went to the assistance of Sir T. Pasley.

On one of those occasions of Lord Howe offering me that friendly advice, which he had frequently done, as to my conduct in the profession, he said, 'In case of going into battle, or in the conduct of any important event, make your observations freely as to your own opinion of the mode of proceeding of your superiors in command.' Upon my manner evidently expressing surprise, he added, 'I say it in reference to myself, for instance; make your remarks freely as to your own opinions of what is right or wrong, and even write them down—but take care you keep them to yourself; refer to your remarks at a later period, and you will either, by that time, have found out the error of your own judgment, or you will have had it confirmed by your own experience.' As a practical proof of the soundness of this advice, I well remember, when I was employed in the 'Pegasus' to repeat Lord Howe's signals, I often imagined I had discerned errors, which a little more experience in them taught me arose entirely from my own want of information on the subject.[2]

In going down, I asked Lord Howe whether we were to fire the starboard lower-deck guns. He said, 'No; I think you had better not.' We went down, so that the starboard

[1] Barrow, p. 228. [2] Ibid., p. 421.

guns only were engaged;[1] and as we suffered more in going down than was expected, permission was given to fire the lower-deckers. I asked, 'Is it an order or only permission?' I was answered, 'Only permission;' and I then kept the guns and ports fast, and made the men lie down on deck—so that we should keep our fire for our opponents—while the men at the next quarters were firing, and my men cheering them. I had the foremost quarters, and had levelled and trained the guns when lying-to to windward before the action, knowing we should be in the same situation in action. In passing under the 'Montagne's' stern, I myself waited at the bow-port till I saw the rudder, (guns 32-pounders, double shotted) and then I pulled the trigger, the same sea splashing us both; the fly of her ensign brushed our shrouds. I recollect a large quantity of paper, as if from a printing-press, fell into the water between us from her stern. I pulled the trigger of the whole seven guns, just in the same way, as I saw the rudder about the gun-room port.

A man, the captain of the next gun, in Hale's quarters, asked me to fire his gun; and on my saying, 'Oh, no; nonsense,' he took me up in his arms and carried me, and, putting me down at his gun, made me do so.

The foretopmast-stays were cut away in going down, and in rounding-to to place ourselves to leeward of the 'Montagne,' the foretopmast went over, and the 'Montagne' set her foresail and got ahead and away.

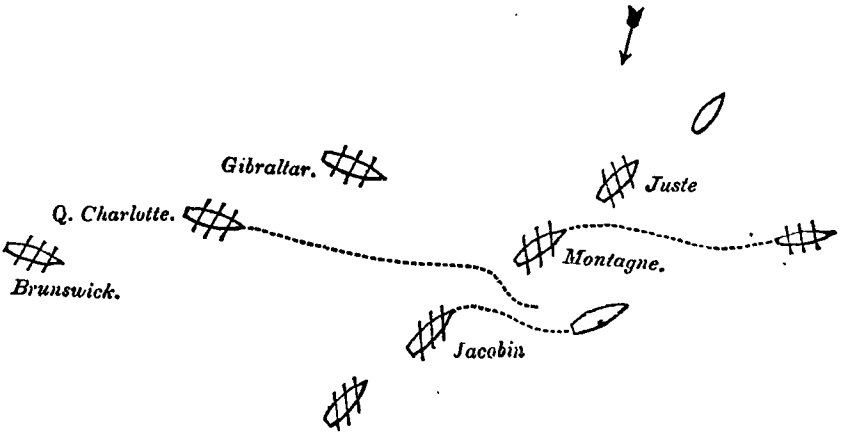
The 'Jacobin' was next astern of the 'Montagne,' and was opposed to us in going down; she doubled alongside the 'Montagne' to get out of our fire. We raked them both, but I am not sure whether we passed ahead of the 'Jacobin,' or whether between the two afterwards, when in rounding-to the foretopmast went.

The captain of the foretop, seeing by the foretopmast-stay that in coming to the wind we should lose it, went up to the foretopmast-head, just as we were hauling up to the wind, and got a light hawser to it and secured it. Coming to the wind the topmast went: this man fell on the starboard gangway with the whole wreck of it, and was not at all hurt. The same thing happened to the captain of the maintop: the maintopmast-stay was shot away; he subsequently went up to do the same thing, when the topmast went, and took him with it into the water alongside, and he got up the rigging of it alongside unhurt. Some of the men in the top were cruelly hurt by the doubling of the rigging on them.

[1] Barrow, p. 233.

Another captain of the top (Andrew Ure) remained in the top with his leg shot off.

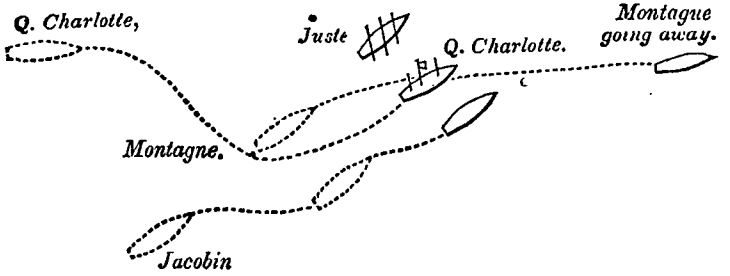
Just as we were closing our opponent, the French Admiral's second astern, the 'Jacobin,' was seen to run up under the 'Montagne's' lee, doubling, as it is termed; and Lord Howe expressed his doubt of there being room for the 'Queen Charlotte' to go between them and get alongside her opponent; upon which Bowen (the master) said, 'My lord, the "Queen Charlotte" will make room for herself.' And the 'Queen Charlotte' did so effectually.



On the 1st of June the 'Queen Charlotte' bore down, intending to pass to leeward of, and engage, the French Admiral, 'La Montagne.' The second astern of the 'Montagne,' seeing the intention of the 'Queen Charlotte,' or perhaps fearing the effects of the 'Queen Charlotte's' fire, doubled up abreast of the 'Montagne'; so that the 'Queen Charlotte,' after passing the stern of the 'Montagne' so close that the mizen-rigging brushed the fly of the French ensign, was unable to haul up alongside the French Admiral for want of space. Bowen seeing this, ordered the helm to be put hard a port, saying, 'Then let's rake them both.' The 'Jacobin,' upon feeling this effect of the foremost guns of the 'Queen Charlotte,' went away large. Upon this, the 'Queen Charlotte's' helm was put hard a starboard to recover her intended position alongside the French Admiral; in doing which, owing to the foretopmast-stay having been shot away, the foretopmast went close to the cap. The 'Montagne' seeing this, let run her fore-clue-garnet, and went away as the 'Jacobin' had done. The 'Queen Charlotte' set her foresail, but at that time the maintopmast went in the attempt to follow

her, having by this time reached a position between the 'Montagne's' second ahead (Juste) and the 'Jacobin,' her second astern. The 'Jacobin' had brought-to as soon as she was clear of 'Queen Charlotte.' 'Montagne' did not stop.

The 'Queen Charlotte's' action continued with the 'Juste' on the larboard and the 'Jacobin' on the starboard side. ('Juste' red-sided ship.) Lord Howe sent down Larcom to say we were firing into 'Invincible,' and to cease firing.



'"Invincible,"' I said, 'why she is a French ship that has been firing at us all along.' 'I know that,' said Larcom, 'let's have a shot.' Lord Howe himself came down to stop the firing, and thinking it was Barney Hale who had fired the gun, struck him with his sword. The people at my quarters were firing all the time, whilst I was talking to Lord Howe and assuring him it was a French ship; and just at this time, the 'Juste' fell off before the wind, and coming under our stern gave us two wicked shots in passing. Lord Howe saw her as we did with her colours up, in the interval of firing, on her coming down on the angle of impunity, and was then convinced it was not the 'Invincible.'

One of their shot went through, by my measurement, of seven feet elbow of the new transom knee, and then struck the aftermost gun just in front of the charge, making such a dent that the charge could not be drawn. In the action a shot struck the muzzle of one of the main-deck guns and split a large piece off, itself breaking into pieces. It killed or wounded ten men of that gun, out of eleven: one of them, a little scrubby-looking fellow, whom we thought not fit for much, a pressed man, we had made a sidesman. He was one at this gun, but showed his qualities when the action began, and had probably kept himself quiet in order to get away from the ship. But he showed himself in the action. He was so badly wounded by that shot, that on Murray, the surgeon, seeing him, he said, 'Why, what was the use of bringing me down a poor fellow of this sort, why not let him

die quietly, and not before the other wounded?' He had ———, and one eye knocked out, and both his hands shattered. He said nothing, and the surgeon had him put by and went on with others. At last, when the surgeon had several more brought down to the cockpit, he called out to him, 'I say, Mr. Surgeon, come, don't you mean to give me my turn?' He was then put to rights, and, notwithstanding all his wounds, recovered.

The 'Gibraltar' (Mackenzie) did not go through, but drew up to windward; and when the 'Montagne' drew ahead, the 'Gibraltar's' fire came into 'Queen Charlotte.' Sir A. Douglas was wounded by her in the head, went down, got a tourniquet on his head, and came up again, and continued on deck with the tourniquet instead of his hat.

Lord Howe was sixty-nine. I don't believe he went to bed the whole time of the three days' chase. He went to bed completely done up after the action of the 1st. On such occasions one is enabled familiarly to approach a man in his situation. We all got round Lord Howe; indeed, I saved him a tumble; he was so weak that from a roll of the ship he was nearly falling into the waist. 'Why, you hold me as as if I were a child,' he said to me good-humouredly. 'I beg your pardon, my lord, but I thought you would have fallen.'

How little Lord Howe was supported by his officers as compared to Lord Nelson! There was a midshipman, named Floyd, who had been signal midshipman of 'Queen Charlotte;' he was then lieutenant of 'Gibraltar.' I said to him after the action, 'Floyd, how is it you were such cowards in the 'Gibraltar'? The only ship you engaged was the 'Queen Charlotte.' His answer was, 'You will be more surprised when I tell you we were *not* cowards, and this is the reason: our captain (Mackenzie) is about the stupidest man possible. Having been signal midshipman with Lord Howe, I took the opportunity of saying, "Captain Mackenzie, you have not been accustomed to signals, will you allow me, as I have been signal midshipman in the 'Queen Charlotte,' to go over the signals with you?" He said, "I shall be very much obliged to you." I dwelt particularly on the two signals, "each ship to take her opponent," and "engage to leeward," which we had always understood Lord Howe would use. I dwelt particularly on them. After the action, although those were the only two signals made before bearing down, Captain Mackenzie asked me if either of those signals had ever been made!'

After the action was over and the firing had ceased, Larcom came down to us on the lower deck and said,

'Everything must be ready for renewing the action.' I answered immediately, 'Everything at my quarters is as ready as when we fired our first gun: and now may I go on deck?' 'Yes.' Upon reaching the quarter-deck and shaking hands with old Bowen, I observed him looking very sulky, and I said, 'What's the matter with you, old fellow?' Answer: 'The captain of the fleet won't let us pursue the enemy!'

Larcom then said to me, 'Now, Master Codrington, as you *are* here, make yourself of use.' 'Very well,' said I, 'I'll go and clear away the wreck of the maintopmast.' So I went up to the maintop with tomahawks, &c., to cut away the wreck. Whilst performing this operation, I was called down to go to my quarters again on account of a French three-decker and two two-deckers to windward, with all sail set, wearing together from the larboard tack and steering towards us, apparently with the intention of coming down to attack us. But by the time I got down on deck, when they brought the wind on their starboard beam, two of the three lost some of their masts, showing evidently that they had been already crippled in the battle. I then went on the poop to see Lord Howe, who was looking anxiously over the tafrail waiting for the smoke to clear away and to decide what was next to be done. He had made the signal for all ships able, to close round the Admiral; and seeing that the 'Queen,' Lord Gardner's ship, which had lost her mizenmast, was a considerable way down to leeward, and in danger of being cut off by the enemy, nine sail of which, under their Admiral in 'La Montagne,' were retreating with the wind on their starboard quarter, Lord Howe came to the forepart of the poop under great anxiety, and called eagerly to Sir R. Curtis, 'Go down to the "Queen," sir; go down to the "Queen."' Answer: 'My lord, we can't; we're a mere wreck; the ship won't steer.' 'Then send everything else, sir, directly.' 'My lord, we're a mere wreck, and there are three sail of fresh ships coming down upon us. What can we do, when the ship herself won't steer?' Bowen, who held his place at the con, then burst out with, 'She *will* steer, my lord.' 'Try her, sir,' said Lord Howe. And Bowen, with a seaman's eye, watching the moment of her falling off, and getting the spritsail well filled to assist her, got her before the wind with her head towards the enemy; and she attained the position given of her in the picture, which I myself gave to Cheiveley, the painter of the large picture from which the two prints were taken.[1]

[1] In Sir E. Codrington's handwriting, and signed by him.—These circum-

Written down by Jane B. C. from the dictation of Sir Edward Codrington, January 14, 1838.[1]

In the critique in the *Spectator* of the 13th January, 1838, of Barrow's 'Life of Lord Howe,' it is said that 'in the latter part of his life he had the reputation of shyness;' and that 'previous to the 1st of June his own officers refused to drink his health at the mess.' Both these stories are entirely unfounded. There is no instance in the whole of Lord Howe's long and fully tried professional life of his not showing remarkable courage and self-possession in time of difficulty or danger. I was a lieutenant of his flagship at the time referred to in this critique, and can give a direct contradiction to both these statements. When our fleet, composed of inferior men and of inferior ships, and commanded by officers, some of whom in the commonest evolutions betrayed a want of seamanship and of knowledge of their profession, got a distant view of the French fleet, superior in number, on our first putting to sea in July, 1793, Lord Howe did his utmost to get at them in order to bring them to battle. In the subsequent chase of the French squadron of six sail of the line, under Van Stabel, 18th November, 1793, for the escape of which on our return to Torbay he was censured in the newspapers, we, 'his own officers,' knew that the fault lay with Captain Molloy, of the 'Cæsar,' in not repeating the signal made by the frigates when the French were seen, and reported by his officers to have put before the wind under all sail at about eleven p.m.; and of Sir Roger Curtis in not reporting to Lord Howe what I myself, as lieutenant of the forecastle watch, told him, that with my night-glass I could see them quite plain going away with the wind on their larboard quarter. Larcom, the first lieutenant, repeated this to Sir R. Curtis, on the forecastle, in presence of the midshipmen and men around us; and we both urged him, unsuccessfully, to bear up after them. Nor did he, as was his duty, make known this report to Lord Howe.

Sir R. Curtis said, 'Then why does not the "Cæsar" make the signal?' and I heard afterwards that when the officers of the 'Cæsar' urged Captain Molloy to bear up and make the signal, he replied angrily, 'Sir, I am not a repeating frigate.' I leave it to others to account for the conduct of these two officers.

stances descriptive of the battle of the 1st of June are correctly taken down from my dictation.—EDWARD CODRINGTON.

[1] It will be noticed that the following statements were drawn from Sir E. C. by his displeasure at the erroneous critique of Lord Howe's character.

Previous to the victory of the 1st of June all the measures and proceedings of Lord Howe evinced the greatest coolness and judgment in following the track of the French fleet, and resolute determination to bring them to a decisive battle. There was no want of nerve, no 'shyness' in the contemplation of dangers and difficulties throughout these transactions. He had ample reason to be dissatisfied with several of the captains on the 28th May; he had more reason to be dissatisfied with them on the 29th, when, from his signals not being obeyed, he deemed it necessary to set them the example of tacking and passing through the rear of the French fleet single-handed, urging the rest to follow him by the signal for a general chase. Upon seeing the 'Leviathan' and 'Queen' in danger of being cut off by the French fleet, he again single-handed bore down to their support; and after declining to bring on the action as he might have done on that same evening of the 29th, his own fleet continued enveloped in fog, when the French fleet might have escaped him and returned to port in safety, having thus (as it might have been) lost an opportunity of fighting a decisive battle at the close of the day, because, as he had himself told me, he required daylight to see how his captains conducted themselves. Here was an evidence of coolness and determination to which few men are competent.

It seems to me peculiarly characteristic of the writer, that what he considered the best evidence of his chief's nerve and courage, was not his readiness to *engage* the enemy, but his cool determination in *omitting* to do so in the evening of the 29th, thereby *running the risk* of *letting him escape*, in order to ensure the right conduct of his fleet by deferring the engagement till daylight should enable him to watch their behaviour.

It is in keeping with a saying of his that I well remember: 'I have observed throughout life that the test of a man's honour is money, and the test of his courage is responsibility.'

Sir E. C.'s dictation resumed:—

Upon Sir Roger Curtis going into the cabin at daylight on the 31st, to make his report to Lord Howe, I, being officer of the watch, lifted up the canvas screen, by which alone the cabin (then cleared for action) was divided from the quarter-

deck, for him to enter. Lord Howe was in his great coat, sitting in an arm-chair, his only resting place from the time of our falling in with the enemy; and the following dialogue took place: 'Well, sir, how is the weather?' 'My lord, I am sorry to tell you that the fog is now so thick that we cannot see anything beyond our own ship;' adding, 'and God knows whether we are standing into our own fleet or that of the enemy.' I can never forget the contrast of Lord Howe's answer: 'Well, sir, it can't be helped; we must wait with patience till the weather improves.' Instead of shyness or nervousness in these trying circumstances, Lord Howe evinced a heroic fortitude which may have been equalled, but never can have been exceeded.

Upon the fog clearing up about one o'clock in the afternoon, the French fleet were seen to leeward, showing every symptom of determination to sustain a battle. I watched Lord Howe's countenance when this report brought him to the quarter-deck to look at them: it expressed an animation of which, at his age, and after such fatigue of body and mind, I had not thought it capable: he seemed to contemplate the result as one of unbounded satisfaction.

The fleet were employed that evening in re-fitting and preparing for the impending battle. On the morning of the 1st June Lord Howe ordered the signals to be made for each ship to pass through the enemy's line and engage them from to leeward, in order to make the battle decisive, and that each ship was to engage her proper opponent; and addressing Sir R. Curtis, he added, 'And now, sir, prepare the signal for close action.' Sir R. Curtis said, 'My lord, there is no signal for close action.' 'No, sir, but there is a signal for *closer* action, and I only want that to be made in case of captains not doing their duty.' He then said, turning to us by whom he was surrounded, and shutting the little signal-book which he always carried about him, 'And now, gentlemen, no more book, no more signals. I look to you to do the duty of the "Queen Charlotte" in engaging the French Admiral. I do not wish the ships to be bilge and bilge, but if you can lock the yard arms so much the better, the battle will be the sooner decided.'

Did this show shyness, or want of nerve? I say again, that from all I have ever seen, known, or heard of Lord Howe, he never did show shyness or want of nerve.

Turning then from the critique to revert to the biography itself, Sir E. C. continued as follows:—

The comparison of the three great Admirals (Lord Howe, Lord St. Vincent, and Lord Nelson), as far as the biographer is concerned, is by far the best part of his performance; there is great truth and justice in his discrimination of the distinct qualities of each.[1]

The characteristic of Lord Howe was being too forbearing; so much so, as to do himself personal injustice by preventing the ships under his command from attaining that high discipline and efficiency in evolutionary movements by which his own success would have been greatly increased. To this may be attributed the non-capture of Van Stabel's squadron, in the year 1793; the backwardness of the —— and some other ships in getting up with the French fleet on the 28th May; and the squadron under the command of Admiral —— not assisting him in battle even after their own individual signals had been made with guns to do so, in consequence of their not obeying the *general* signal to that effect; the backwardness of the —— and other ships in the van in not carrying sufficient sail to execute the manœuvres which Lord Howe ordered on the 29th; and the same backwardness in some of the ships in taking their proper stations for engaging the enemy on the 1st of June. If Lord St. Vincent had commanded that fleet not one of those captains would have been suffered so to conduct themselves with impunity; and an example made on the first occasion would have prevented the ill effects of repetition which Lord Howe experienced by his forbearance. It was the want of that discipline which Lord St. Vincent always established, and the relaxation in all other matters by way of an equivalent for constant confinement on board, which led to the discontent and mutiny in the Channel Fleet. Lord Howe got rid of the mutiny by granting the men all they asked; but the discipline was not restored, until the ships most remarkable for misconduct had been, one after the other, placed under the command of Lord St. Vincent. Lord Howe, by his forbearance, failed in obtaining that discipline, that perfection of manœuvre which the fleet ought to have attained; Lord St. Vincent obtained a strict and ready obedience by a severity which nobody could venture to resist. Lord Nelson obtained a greater perfection than either, by the example of his own personal sacrifices, by the pains he took to keep the fleet in health and efficiency in every respect, and by his kindness and attention to the wants, wishes, and comforts of those under his command. The predominant

[1] Barrow, p. 425 to the end.

feeling was not fear of his censure, but apprehension of not gaining his approbation.

The naval service have looked long and anxiously for a life of this great Admiral (Lord Howe) to whom we owe the first advances in signals and evolutionary science by which the service was distinguished in the latter years of the long and eventful war in which we were engaged.

The real character and virtues of Lord Howe were never known during his lifetime, and if more of the 400 letters in the possession of the biographer, with his own private journal, had been laid before the public, no doubt it would have tended to place much higher the character of this great and exemplary Admiral. It is to be hoped that this deficiency will give rise to the production of the numerous other letters of Lord Howe, which no doubt must still be in the hands of private individuals, exclusive of those in possession of his own family. Look at the effect upon the public mind of an able selection of Lord Collingwood's letters. Had Lord Howe been treated with the same fairness, he would perhaps have shone forth as the brightest example in the whole page of naval history.

The following anecdote is given on the authority of Mr. Moses Greetham:—

At the Court-martial on Captain Molloy, of the 'Cæsar,' which took place at Portsmouth when the fleet returned home after the battle of the 1st June, Mr. Moses Greetham was Judge-Advocate, and Sir Roger Curtis (Captain of the Fleet) was prosecutor. After the court-martial was over, the President and Members of the Court, according to official custom, waited upon Lord Howe, as Commander-in-Chief, to present to him their sentence. The Judge-Advocate and the Members of the Court are the only persons cognisant of the individual votes, and they are all bound by oath not to divulge them. Sir R. Curtis, who had been the official prosecutor, was with Lord Howe when the sentence was thus brought to him. Immediately after they had withdrawn, Lord Howe mentioned to Sir R. Curtis what he guessed as to the way every particular member had voted on that Court-martial, forming his opinion partly from the general character of the individual, and partly from his tone and manner in approaching him at this interview. A few minutes afterwards, Sir R. Curtis, meeting Mr. Greetham, said to him, 'Greetham, I want to tell you a singular thing. Lord Howe has just been telling me his guess as to the vote of each of the members of the Court-martial, and I will repeat it to you; but I

don't want to draw you into any breach of confidence, and you need not say a word in answer.' Greetham then heard Lord Howe's guess; of course he made no reply, nor gave the least outward indication of the real facts. Many years passed away, and with them all the actors in that transaction except one. In 1831 Moses Greetham, then an old man, at Portsmouth in conversation with Sir E. Codrington, related to him this anecdote, adding: 'Of course I have never revealed how the members voted, and I do not mean to do so now; although, as all concerned have long passed away, it could signify little now to anyone. But this I may tell you, that Lord Howe was perfectly correct in his judgment of each man in that Court-martial.'

I have found among my father's papers notes in his own handwriting which were put down in 1846 for the Admiralty, in consequence of their circular to all naval officers inviting them to do so for a record intended to be kept at the office. The form officially provided by the Admiralty was filled up and sent in; and an exact copy of it will be found in the appendix of the second volume. This extract is placed here, as containing the only circumstantial account of this portion of his early services.

Served in America and the Mediterranean under Admirals Sawyer and Peyton, and in Russian Armament, under Admiral Leveson Gore; was sent into 'Pegasus' frigate as one of her lieutenants in 1793, by special desire of Admiral Earl Howe, for the purpose of repeating the signals made by the 'Queen Charlotte'; from thence removed into the 'Queen Charlotte,' where he served as lieutenant in the battles of the 29th May and 1st June, 1794; was sent to London by Lord Howe with his dispatch announcing the safe arrival of the fleet and the prizes off the Isle of Wight; remained in the 'Queen Charlotte,' at Lord Howe's request, to do the duty of first-lieutenant, instead of being included in the general promotion, under a promise made to the Earl by Lord Chatham 'that he should be considered as having the rank of commander'; was removed from thence to the 'Comet,' fireship, to accompany Lord Howe in an expected battle with the French fleet, in October, 1794; and thence made post-captain into 'La Babet' frigate, which he commanded in April, 1795, when the fleet, under Lord Bridport, captured

three sail of the line; from 'La Babet' he was removed to the 'Druid' frigate, and went to the Lisbon station, under Admiral Vandeput, from whence he returned in that ship to England with a large convoy, in company with the 'Assistance,' the 'Alcmene,' and the 'Aurora,' encountering such a succession of bad weather as made almost the whole of the merchant ships founder, and with difficulty enabled the ships of war to save themselves, the 'Druid' being obliged to throw all her forecastle and quarter-deck guns and many other heavy things overboard, on account of having a leak at the stern-post, two beams sprung, almost all her masts and yards crippled, and not one complete square sail left in the ship. In this condition, after chasing a French frigate of equal force, and reconnoitering two others of superior force, he ran into Cork; and there learning that the French fleet were off Bantry Bay, he again put to sea in company with the 'Unicorn' and 'Doris' frigates, without any orders from Admiral Kingsmill, who said he would not be responsible for his going in that condition. Upon this squadron capturing a large ship *en flute* filled with ammunition, and having on board 500 of General Hoche's body-guard, he consented to take charge of her, in order to prevent the whole being so encumbered as to disable them from keeping the sea; and, notwithstanding his falling in the next day with three sail of the line, three frigates, and three corvettes, belonging to the French fleet destined to invade Ireland, he succeeded in getting the prize safe into Kinsale. Upon his return to England, the 'Druid' was found to be very defective and requiring great repairs, and he therefore retired to half-pay.

The following notes were written down from Sir E. C.'s dictation:—

Lord Bridport's Action,
June 23, 1795.

While pursuing the French Fleet, on the 23rd June, 1795, which had been led out to sea in chase of Admiral Cornwallis's squadron of five sail of the line, the wind died away so much that the ships could barely keep their heads the right way. The 'Queen Charlotte' was then a private ship, under Lord Bridport, commanded by Sir Andrew Douglas, and having Bowen for her 1st Lieutenant; and, being but a bad sailer, she had one half of the ships ahead of her during the daylight. But from seamanlike attention to trimming of sails to every little flaw of wind during the night, she was the headmost ship of the fleet at daylight in the morning.

The light quicker sailing ships then got ahead of her, and the 'Orion' and 'Irresistible' were in a position to begin the action. The French thirteen ships of the line were under all sail in a line of battle abreast, running before the wind for L'Orient. Our fleet was composed of sixteen sail of the line, in a general chase. The ship of the enemy most to the left was our late 'Alexander,' in tow of 'La Virginie' frigate; next to her was 'Le Formidable,' and next to her 'Le Tigre.'

The 'Orion' could only just have fetched in by the wind on the starboard tack betwixt the 'Alexander' and the 'Tigre': but by luffing up to rake the 'Alexander' she obliged the 'Irresistible,' then close astern of her, to do the same, which exposed them both to the raking fire of the stern guns of all the other French ships, and thus prevented further advance.

The 'Queen Charlotte' seeing what was about to take place, although a private ship made a warning signal to the 'Irresistible' to keep close to the wind. But she could not weather the 'Orion.' The wind at this moment freshened and became more fair: the 'Queen Charlotte,' taking full advantage of it, hauled up to starboard, set all her studding sails, and ran into action between the 'Alexander' and the 'Formidable;' both of which were totally disabled in ten minutes: and she then was engaged with the 'Tigre' until they were both disabled, and the latter, like the two former, had struck her colours. Just at this moment the 'Royal George' brought up the breeze, and not observing that the colours of the 'Tigre,' whose head was still towards her friends, were down, passed to windward of her, wore round a-head of her, and very nearly sunk her by her tremendous fire. Lord Bridport then not only took his own ship out of action, but called away all the other ships engaged; although some of the enemy were aground for want of water to enter their port, and the whole being in a *cul-de-sac* might certainly have been captured. I then was in command of 'La Babet' frigate, and kept as close as possible to my old ship, 'Queen Charlotte,' ready to assist her with boats, &c.

And upon going on board of her as she dropped out of action, and observing to Bowen that nothing could surpass the way in which she went into the battle, he said jokingly, 'Then you think we need not tell our own story.'

In his copy of Ralfe's 'Naval Biography' (Life of Lord Bridport), Sir. E. C. has written a marginal note opposite to the following passage in page 207.

'On the coming up of the "Royal George," Lord Bridport's ship, she ran alongside the "Tigre," and having, after a few well-directed broadsides, obliged her to haul down her colours, his lordship pursued the French admiral in a three-deck ship, which he also brought to action; but as the enemy then began to draw near the shore, the pilot refused to continue in charge of the ship.'

Sir E. C.'s note—

The 'Tigre' was already silenced by the fire of the 'Queen Charlotte,' the noble conduct of which ship drew forth the encomium of every body except Lord Bridport.[1]

To Mr. Ralfe's note in same page (207).

'It is greatly to be regretted that Lord Bridport was not supplied with more skilful pilots, who would have carried the squadron nearer the enemy, and prevented them entering the Port of L'Orient. Had that been the case, no doubt the whole, or nearly the whole, of the French squadron would either have been destroyed or captured, as the passage is very narrow, and can be entered only by one ship at a time, and that at slack water and a flowing tide.'

Sir E. C. has added,—

It is greatly to be regretted that his lordship called the ships out of action, as they could, of course, go where the large French three-decker did. He might have captured or destroyed all the ships of the enemy.

Sir E. C.'s note on page 302 of Barrow's 'Life of Lord Howe.'

June 23, 1795.

The whole fleet had been lying to, whilst the three three-deckers ordered to take the three prizes in tow were making the necessary arrangements for that purpose: in the meantime the weather became very thick and threatening, with every appearance of a gale on shore. Judging by the conduct of those three ships, as also by that of the 'Orion' and the 'Queen,' that they were not aware of their situation,

[1] Lord Bridport, however, in his public letter merely writes, 'The ships engaged as they arrived up in succession,—'Orion,' 'Irresistible,' 'Queen Charlotte'!!!—[Note added by Sir E. Codrington in his own handwriting.]

and having lost sight of Lord Bridport's flag and the body of the fleet, I being then in command of the 'Babet' frigate, at the close of day ran down and told each of those ships in succession, that from the bearings and distance of the land which I had seen before the thick weather came on, I apprehended that if they sounded they would find themselves much nearer the land than they were aware of; upon which each of them, being so informed, made sail and gained an offing. The last which I addressed was the flag-ship of Lord Gardner. Captain Bedford being quite surprised by it, called to me to repeat what I had said; he then asked me in what direction the Admiral was, and whether he had made any signal. I told him the position in which I had last seen him when he was still lying to, and that he had then made no signal. I added that, thinking he was not aware of the dangerous situation of the prizes, I had taken upon me to quit my station in order to apprise them of their being very near the land. Captain Bedford then told me that it was Lord Gardner's order that I should endeavour to find the Admiral, return to him, and make known his position. I naturally stood out in the direction in which I had left him when lying to, but missed him, as it appeared, by his having made sail shortly after I last saw him. I subsequently took a position near the French shore to give warning to any other ships which I thought might be equally unaware of the dangerous position in which I had found the others. Upon my arrival in Plymouth Sound shortly afterwards, I met Captain Domet, who had carried Lord Bridport's account of the battle to the Admiralty, and who was about to return to the fleet in the 'Thalia' frigate; and when I told him what I had done respecting the ships in charge of the prizes, he told me that I had eased his mind of a heavy load by which it had been oppressed ever since he had quitted the fleet, from a recollection of the position in which those ships had been left; for that at the time when he gave the account of the battle at the Admiralty he was apprehensive that the next information which reached them would be not only that those three prizes were lost, but the ships which had charge of them into the bargain.

Note by Sir E. C. on page 305 of Barrow's 'Life of Lord Howe.'

Towards the close of 1795, an order to the effect that the army when serving on board ships of war were not to be

subject to naval discipline was given out by the Admiralty to the fleet then assembled at Spithead. Upon receipt of this order, a general meeting of the admirals and captains took place at Portsmouth to remonstrate against it, meditating, if unsuccessful, to refuse to serve. It was considered at this meeting that a misinterpretation might be put upon the conduct of these officers, and that it might be attributed to something like a mutinous combination; it was, therefore, determined, that the matter should be left in the hands of the admirals. Their remonstrance had the desired effect, and the order was forthwith rescinded.

Observation.—The conduct of the Admiralty on this occasion betrayed not only a readiness to destroy all naval discipline, but an ignorance of their own power and authority, for which it is difficult to account. The naval articles of war are comprised in an Act of Parliament which nothing but an Act of Parliament can contravene. When the Court which condemned Admiral Byng to death for an error in judgment complained of the hardship on their consciences in having so severe a punishment forced on them for want of power to alleviate the sentence, an Act of Parliament was passed for the special purpose of adding the words 'or such other punishment as a court-martial, &c., &c., shall deem fit.' How, then, could any Admiralty presume to promulgate their contradiction to the article of war which subjects any man in or belonging to the fleet to naval discipline?

The meeting of the admirals was the consequence of the order being promulgated—its being rescinded was the consequence of the remonstrance then made.

After this commission Captain C. was unemployed for some time, and lived the life of a country gentleman at Winchfield, in Hants, eagerly enjoying society and its pleasures,—and country life too: for, with a great love of horses, he soon acquired much knowledge of them; and became a beautiful rider and a very keen sportsman. He did not lose either his love or power of riding until he was more than 76 years old.

Extract from Sir E. C. to a friend.

July 1801.

There is something very fine in the manner of men of courage to each other before going into action, and the

memory of this seems almost to repay one for the danger. The little traits of this sort I have witnessed in the few opportunities which chance has thrown in my way I can hardly ever think of without emotion.

The scene over-night on board the 'Elephant' before the battle of Copenhagen must have been a particularly interesting one. Poor Riou, who so richly deserved the name Lord Nelson gave him of *gallant and good*, was a prominent figure throughout the whole; and his loss is really irreparable as an officer, a man, a son, a brother, and a friend! He has died as he lived, beloved and honoured.

My heart is full—so good night, and may God ever bless you!

1802.—About this time while living at Winchfield, Captain C. was a very frequent visitor at Old Windsor, putting up his horse or sometimes staying at the Bells of Ousely, a quiet little inn by the side of the Thames. On one occasion he rode over to attend a county ball, carrying with him very carefully a choice nosegay out of his garden, which had a very special destination. He sent for a hair-dresser; and when duly prepared and dressed for the ball he sat down in an arm-chair to wait for the proper hour to go. But the ride from Winchfield had been long, the hair-dressing had been tedious—he closed his eyes,—and very great indeed was his vexation the next morning, however laughable the circumstance, to find himself in that arm-chair in full daylight with the fresh nosegay before him which he had so carefully placed in water: for the ball was over, and the nosegay had not been presented!

In December 1802, Captain Codrington married Jane, daughter of Jasper Hall, Esq., of Kingston, Jamaica.

I must claim the privilege of in some degree making known in the course of this memoir the character of this loved and honoured wife and mother, by incidental traits that must necessarily come into notice in connection with the history of him who so deeply felt her value. She was eminently beautiful in face and figure; but the great and abiding charm was the lofty and, at the same time, loving expression of the noble counte-

nance. They were indeed most fitly matched. She was for many years the cherished centre of a circle bound up in her by a bond of love and veneration: and when she died, the halo of that love shone over that circle with a glow that has never been dimmed.

Blessed is her memory to all who ever had the privilege of knowing, and loving, and being loved by her.

CHAPTER II.

PRIVATE LETTERS TO MRS. CODRINGTON.

From August 8, 1805, to November 1806.

In May, 1805, Captain Codrington was appointed to command H.M.S. 'Orion,' 74, and proceeded to the Mediterranean to take part in the service of that eventful year. This being the first time of his leaving his married home, it is here that the private correspondence begins which, in all times of absence from that dearly loved home, was his chief solace, and the great support of mind and heart under the anxiety and labour of very arduous work.

It was, I think, in 1844 that I promised my father, in accordance with his expressed wish, that I would after his death put together his papers and letters as a memoir of the services in which he had been engaged. I at once began making extracts from his private letters to my mother while on service abroad; and as the mass grew under my hand, I placed each batch of extracts before him for his approval. In August, 1845, I wrote to him asking whether I had used the materials too freely as to the expressions of private feeling, and received his answer dated August 22nd. I have entered the notes in this place out of their date and order, because I am anxious, before entering upon his correspondence, to show that I have not in my extracts from the private letters strained the confidence placed in me by the writer of them. These words of his are my sanction and warrant; and in addition to them the packets of extracts are endorsed in his own handwriting—'Read over by me, 1845. E. C.' After his death I was prepared to carry out the work thus

undertaken ; and should have set about it at once, had not circumstances prevented my doing so.

August 22, 1845.

I cannot doubt your having made a proper and suitable selection, and I feel much obliged by the *great* interest you have taken in my history. As to your having extracted too much, I *can* speak and answer, 'no'; but as to omission, I *cannot* speak without having the originals for comparison. In any doubts make Bourchier your judge, and you can't be far wrong.

Not thinking this sufficiently explicit, I wrote again,—

My question of too much, or not, referred to the letters you wrote *home*, in copying which I have sometimes been tempted to add to matters of public or professional interest, touches of private feeling, which were not, when written, intended for any eye but hers to whom they were addressed. I do not think it objectionable, but would not do it against your wish.

His reply was as follows:—

August 25, 1845.

There is no feeling of objection whatever on my part to your extracting expressions such as you refer to: the high estimation which drew forth those expressions of affection which were due to your mother when living are equally due to her memory now, as evidence of that conduct on her part which so justly and so naturally excited them: and I am as fully alive to them now as I was when my pen recorded them.—E. C.

H.M.S. 'Orion.' Torbay, August 8, 1805.

Two nights have passed away without my writing one line to my dearest Jane in readiness for an opportunity of sending it. Neither of those two nights, however, have gone by without my wishing to pay her that little tribute of affection; but I dare not indulge it for fear of the weakness it might leave behind! Even now that we are decisively separated, I cannot detach myself from the desire of being with you in spite even of the impossibility; and so much faster do my thoughts fly than my pen moves, that I must confine myself to a bare journal, and not unman, or, rather, *uncaptain* myself by attempting to detail them. We have had a strange mixture of bad and fine weather, although the

latter has borne no proportion to the former. It has given us a good opportunity of trying the rigging and getting things into their places, and I trust by passing a day at anchor in Torbay, we shall be enabled to join the fleet under more advantageous circumstances than many ships do. We have had no accident except finding the foretopmast sprung by its own *good-for-nothingness*, which is so far fortunate that we shall probably have a better to confide in on any trying occasion.

August 10.

I shall be very comfortable, I doubt not, by-and-by, respecting my cabin, my officers, and ship's company; and not less so, I trust, in my ship; but I have another home to which my heart will lean, and I cannot properly enjoy the advantages I possess. I want a letter, a little short line, to say those are well who are so dear to me; and I fancy that with that comfort, now and then, I should be satisfied. Do not, however, suppose me weak and inefficient in my business; on the contrary, I never felt myself better equal to it, and everything comes to my hand as if I had not been disused to it. On the quarter-deck I am the captain; in my cabin I am the husband and the father, with a full sense of the blessing of being so.

August 12, off Plymouth.

We have had quite a lady's cruise from Torbay here, and have now scarcely as much wind as will make the ship steer. I mean to take care of myself and enjoy good health, and to have no other uneasiness but being away from you and yours.

August 16.

We are at length what is termed *in the team*, and the prospect of some months' continuation of the same unvaried scene is rather wearying. I was hurried out of the admiral's ship in such a way that I had scarcely time to learn my common routine of duty, being referred to my general orders and signals for every information. The admiral happened to come on deck, or I should not have seen him; and, in the few minutes' chat I entered into with him, he did not appear disposed to be unpleasant. He seems to let us all go our own way and get into or out of our stations without any interference; and such is the want of attention on this head that I hardly know how to act, to keep myself clear of the power of being found fault with. If I am instructed to keep between two ships, each of which acts differently, and neither correctly, what am I to do but give way to the general indifference?

Yesterday we were joined by Lord Nelson; and he, I find, obtained leave to go home directly, leaving the rest of his squadron here; but we know no more than our glasses tell us, except by accidental or stolen communication. Brown[1] came on board here yesterday, to tell me his story. He is a good deal annoyed by the disapprobation of two or three of those engaged with him in action with the combined squadron: but if he erred (which I am inclined to think he did not), it was from excess of zeal. He saw great reason to believe that, from Sir R. Calder being unable, from the fog, to discover that the enemy had tacked, and that our van had tacked after them, three or four of our ships were in danger of being separated from the rest, and, being thus opposed to the whole squadron of the enemy; he therefore left his station to make this known to the admiral, who has since thanked him for his conduct; and, as he had a very good share of the action afterwards, his courage will not be called in question, even if his judgment is. The approbation of the admiral I think decisive of the propriety of his conduct; and it requires much more zeal as well as courage, in my opinion, to do what he did, than merely to take that part in the battle which chance or circumstance allots one. Those who have judged him wrong are his friends and intimates; but, as they are sufferers by his absence from his station, they say he had only to mind his own business, and leave the other to the admiral, which is not quite liberal, in my opinion.

August 21.

In sight of Cape Ortegal. The 'Naiad' joined us yesterday, and told us of her having been chased by a French fleet of twenty-six sail of the line and ten frigates, the shot from one of which passed over her, and, as they made the signal for her to show her number, it is clear that they have got possession of our signal book: this however is of no consequence, as they do not appear to have our private signals, and the others can be all changed by one signal from the admiral. It is a noble and most animating scene, which I wish you could witness for a moment: eighteen sail of the line and but two frigates under every sail they can possibly set so as to keep together, in chase of so superior a force. The day before yesterday I was expressing my wish that the fleet might be out before we got to Ferrol, in order to have this very cruise we are now taking. Our object now is, I conclude, to look into Cadiz Bay, and from thence proceed

[1] Captain Wm. Brown, H.M.S. 'Ajax.'

according to further information. The Gut of Gibraltar would be a fine place for the event which I ardently hope may take place; and though the labour may be Herculean, I trust the success may be as complete as his was. 'Orion,' dear old 'Orion,' sailed yesterday I think better than anything excepting 'Revenge,' whose superiority is very conspicuous. To-day she ('Orion') is under a press of sail, from having been suffered to fall astern in the night; which my morning's lecture will, I doubt not, in future prevent. But she likes a little more wind than old Boreas chose last night to allow her; and when once a ship has dropped astern, it is very difficult for her to regain her station. The ship's company answer truly the description I had of them from the two captains who formerly commanded them; *being in no sort of order whatever*: they are, however, convinced of my determination to have them otherwise, and I dare say we shall make daily advances, with such a stimulus as we have before us.

Lord Nelson's squadron (of which we have now eight sail with us) seems to be in very high order indeed; and although their ships do not look so handsome *as objects*, they look so very warlike, and show such high condition, that when once I can think 'Orion' fit to manœuvre with them, I shall probably paint her in the same manner.

August 29.

We this day joined Admiral Collingwood, with, I believe, six or seven sail of the line, and were afterwards joined by Sir R. Bickerton, with three more, and we have since detached Admiral Louis with four sail; so that we remain about twenty-three or four to watch about thirty now in Cadiz; unless Admiral Louis is merely forming an advanced squadron, I fear it will be dull blockading work; but still it is foreign service, and more to my fancy than being off Brest. Alas! I cannot look back to our little domestic enjoyments without feeling quite unmanned by the prospect of long, long absence from all hope of a renewal of them. Surely *Edward* misses me, even if fat little William has lost all remembrance of my dandling him. His sweet laugh has, however, left such traces in my memory as will not be easily forgotten! But I am now distressing myself to such a degree that I must quit the subject altogether; with only adding the first and strongest wish of my heart for the united welfare of you and them. Good night.

September 4.

We have got into the clutches of another stay-on board

Admiral (Collingwood), who never communicates with anybody but upon service; and so, unless Bonaparte orders his fleet out, we stand a very good chance of forgetting that anything like society is known amongst men. I could not exactly count the Cadiz fleet yesterday (when we were close enough in to see them); but I doubt not our in-shore squadron know them thoroughly. I have no idea, however of their coming out whilst we are in readiness for them, even were they double their number. It would be very annoying to my feelings to see an inferior fleet of an enemy challenging that of the nation to which I belonged, even under the very walls of its principal harbour. The old Spanish pride, if there is any left, must be galled by it; but the French I dare say console themselves under the knowledge that our fleet is wearing itself out whilst theirs is repairing; and I believe success from cunning is just as gratifying to a Frenchman as if gained in battle. How this is to go on I cannot judge. The wiseacres at home will not again risk the wearing out our ships in a winter's blockade whilst the enemy keeps himself in readiness to take advantage of our distress: and indeed I should think the expenditure of this year of 'restoration' of our navy and dockyards, will make many people recollect that peace is far preferable to war. The citizens will then begin to cry out; and they will put the honour of the nation in their pockets till they can make money enough to supply its place. Is Lord Nelson coming out to us again? I anxiously hope he may be; that I may once in my life see a commander-in-chief endeavouring to make a hard and disagreeable service as palatable to those serving under him as circumstances will admit of, and keeping up by his example that animation so necessary for such an occasion.

September 5.

Finding that the Admiral rather thought me inattentive to one of his orders, I went on board, and rather surprised him by the account I gave of our various wants and inability to assist others. He was very good-humoured, chatty, and communicative. He says the French could not have come up with him without passing the Gut of Gibraltar, which they wished to avoid, and that as soon as he got between the capes he shortened sail; but they would not follow. He seems to do everything himself with great attention to the minutiæ.

We suppose the Cadiz fleet to be now about 36 or 38: but I have no idea of their coming out. The fishing-boats from

thence report Cornwallis having taken six sail of the Brest fleet; but I fear there is no truth in it. If that fleet had intended to come out, they would have done it at the time Cornwallis left his station to look for Calder's opponents. (Dined with Sir Robert Calder.) Sir R. says he knows he must be abused, but that he thinks he deserves a very different treatment. It was an awkward situation his having another force in Ferrol equal to his; and, as he says, he could not prevent the fog coming on. I could have said, 'Why did you raise our hopes?' in which he was most assuredly unjust to himself. However, I can only say I should like very well to be under his command, although I should much prefer Lord Nelson.

September 10.

Sir Robert Calder has written to get home, and says he is too much worn to continue serving. He has sent to me to dine with him to-day, and I intend going if possible, although I am quite confident the Admiral does not like to see any of us associating together. Sir R. is not only much worn, but much out of spirits, in consequence of public opinion bearing so hard on him; and to a hospitable man fond of society and having many of his sea friends in the same fleet, it is very cruel not to allow him any intercourse with them, when their society is of value to him. How few there are who even at the close of a long life of hard service have had during all that life an opportunity of distinguishing themselves; and how few of those who have been favoured with that opportunity and done their utmost, have escaped public reprehension! Even the unnoticed service that we are now performing, without the smallest prospect of amendment, deserves at least the thanks of those whose ease and enjoyment are thereby secured to them. You have long been in possession of my sentiments, however, on this head; and they are founded too much on experience to be liable to much alteration.

September 20.

And now, after a considerable lapse of time (as I feel it to be), for a little *entretien* with you. When the days pass by with so little variation, it becomes a difficult matter to recall to the memory those trifling circumstances and events which might have been worth detailing at the moment, in such a dearth of subjects: and yet it is one proof of their not being worth mentioning that they have left so little impression on the mind. The truth is that our heads are so perpetually crammed with ship matters, which we are of

necessity obliged to give our whole attention to, that we cannot receive affairs of less immediate moment, although alone interesting to those anxious about us. It would be little to tell you that yesterday we wore ship, and the day before we tacked ship; although any difficulties attending those simple acts on account of weather or situation, might attract all our interest and require all our skill and exertion; and to *us* even, the interest ceases when the act terminates. But such are the only events we can have to detail generally; and therefore if we cannot collect the feelings which such a life produces, we can give no other satisfaction to our friends than the assurance of our health. To how many would the unvarying prospect before me be the greatest of gratifications; and yet to me how very flat and uninteresting! Content alone is happiness; and although I am confident I have (under the support of a well-grounded hope for hereafter) secured to myself my share of it, I believe it is very little known to that large portion of H.M. subjects who belong to this fleet. The service is of itself necessarily harassing; but might be very, very much meliorated if we had a commander of a disposition to do so. And our second in command (Calder), with the most laudable inclination to promote society, and that harmony so essential to a fleet destined to act well together, has no opportunity but by chance of getting his captains about him. A court-martial on board his ship yesterday, however, admitted us to as social a dinner as I was ever at; and the beautiful music his band gave us to make our wine relish, made us all regret the more the difficulty of repeating our visit. It was really to me (and I am sure it would have been to you) a most animating sight; an admiral surrounded by twenty of his captains in social intercourse, showing a strong desire to support each other cordially and manfully in the event of a battle taking place.

I could not help observing to King and one or two others near me, that the sort of meeting we were there enjoying was the only partial recompense I could have for the sacrifice I was making; in which sentiment they all fully agreed with me. . . . .

For charity's sake send us Lord Nelson, oh ye men of power!

The harpoons have come safe. I do not expect to draw much *blood* with them, but if I can make the people amuse and employ themselves with them, it will answer my purpose.

Poor little Jesse![1] I shall much lament her on your

[1] An old favourite dog.

account; but on her own, considering the many illnesses she has of late been subject to, it would not be quite so reasonable; but I must own I should have been glad to find on my return everything just as I left it, that I might not be reminded of the time I had lost from the society of my own dear domestic circle. I can sometimes reproach myself for not sufficiently enjoying it heretofore; and yet the smooth content which then reigned in my breast, and the rapidity with which time passed away, are proofs that it was not thrown away on me. Let us hope, nay let us confide, my dear Jane, in thus passing many more years together; and let us prepare ourselves to enjoy them the more by bringing our present absence into contrast with them. About me be quite at ease; I never was better in health in my life; and am never out of spirits, except when fancy paints you before me in suffering. 'Orion' begins to hold up her head and pry into her neighbours' imperfections, and under Croft's persevering exertion would, with a moderate degree of life and activity in the men, have ere now made a good figure.

September 22.

The signal is made about the letters, and I must close this. Be at ease about an action; there is not the smallest chance of any such event.

September 28.

If Admiral Montagu were to take an active command I could wish myself his captain. I have always felt this wish towards him, and I have frequently repeated what I feel as strongly,—that I would not consent to act in that situation under any other admiral in the service. There *may* be others of the same stamp, but I have not quite that impression of them; and indeed I scarcely hear of anybody now, except Sir R. Calder, who does not quarrel with his captain. (How could I here forget Lord Nelson?) All your little chit-chat, however ridiculous it may appear to other eyes, is entertaining to me; and even the most trifling circumstance about yourself and your dear babes highly interesting. I have sometimes determined to avoid all this sort of thing from the apprehension of seeing my letters at full in the newspapers: but to those who have feelings, the publicity will rather inspire indignation towards the Ministry, whether English or French, who can be mean enough from the petty intrigues of office thus to sport with individual happiness, than ridicule towards the writer of them. When any allusion is made to particular people, one would

certainly be very sorry, however just they may be, to see one's opinions made public: but as to the exposition of those feelings which are dictated by a heart fixed as I trust mine is on a proper object, I defy the whole world to make them ridiculous.

September 29.

Lord Nelson is arrived! A sort of general joy has been the consequence, and many good effects will shortly arise from our change of system. He joined us too late yesterday evening for communication. I had not got any of your letters before I waited on Lord Nelson this morning; he received me in an easy, polite manner, and, on giving me your letter, said that, being entrusted with it by a lady, he made a point of delivering it himself. I have no fear of obtaining his good will by the conduct of 'Orion'; because I shall do my best to deserve it, and he is a man well able to appreciate such endeavours.

September 30.

The signal has been made this morning for all of us who did not dine on board 'Victory' yesterday to go there to-day. What our late chief will think of this I don't know; but I well know what the fleet think of the difference; and even you, our good wives, who have some causes of disapprobation, will allow the superiority of Lord Nelson in all these social arrangements which bind his captains to their admiral. The signal is made that boats may be hoisted out to buy fruit, stock, or anything from vessels coming into the fleet; this, I trust, will be a common signal hereafter, but it is the first day I have seen it made.

The statement about Sir R. Calder, depend upon it, is very incorrect. None of his captains say he could have done more on the 23rd;[1] and, I believe, he is only blamed for giving unfounded hopes of his doing more afterwards. Had the French fleet, his superior, come out whilst he went after the combined squadrons, he would have been annihilated; and, as it was, he was betwixt the combined squadrons and the Rochfort squadron, which was then endeavouring to form the junction. Heroism will do a great deal; but perhaps even Lord Nelson, who is heroism personified, might have found it difficult to gratify the alehouse expectations of John Bull, had he overtaken this same squadron. There are many of these *untried* heroes who, *after* a hearty dinner and a few glasses of wine, would rather fight the devil than eat their dinner! I have even heard such speeches on board a ship,

[1] July 1805.

but I never saw the proof that such was the real feeling. I would rather be sensible of having done that which entitled me to the thanks and the esteem of my countrymen, and I would gladly fight my country's enemies to obtain that esteem, although I would not eat myself into all the honours and glory they could bestow on me. But it is for the love of glory I would fight, and not from any partiality for the act of fighting. Indeed, I have now a double stimulus, in the gratification it would be to you, dearest, and to your dear babes when a sense of valour shall have made its first impression in their little hearts. And yet, alas! it might befall me, after betwixt forty and fifty years' service, to be blamed, abused, and insulted, after doing my utmost, because the wind or weather had been unfavourable. Indeed, I trust poor Calder will come off with honour; and that, if the Admiralty have countenanced the vulgar notions, they will receive all the contempt such conduct merits.

Sir Robert Calder, I hear, goes home in the 'Dreadnought.' If the Admiralty refuse him his own ship, after being out nearly nine months without going into port, it is infamous. Had he written well they would have made it a great victory.

Thanks for dear Edward's vocabulary, which entertains me much; and most readily would I stand the ridicule of those who feel so disposed, for the pleasure of hearing such little chit-chat. Be not afraid of being the mother when writing to the husband and father, separated from the family he delights in, from such motives as have sent me hither. Edward is a very quick little fellow, and, with proper attention to his growing passions, will do us no discredit hereafter, depend on it. 'Orion' is admired as a beauty now, dirty and ragged as she is; and I cannot help thinking that it is only owing to the lines being drawn correctly with the form and *set* of the ship. I shall endeavour to preserve my yellow band, although I intend following our admiral's whim as to the two streaks; but, as all small ships are much disfigured by this attempt to look large, like the frog in the fable, I shall divide betwixt the line of the ports and the sheer of the ship. We have the credit of having been very attentive to the improvement of the ship, and of having greatly benefited by that attention; and as Croft, with the greatest perseverance and attention, is one of the ablest and best first-lieutenants I ever saw, and as I know how to do my part in improving the discipline of the ship, I have no doubt but we shall be in very good order ere long.

October 4.

I met Brown at dinner on board the 'Defence' yesterday, and he told me that he was to go home with Sir R. Calder as an evidence, and to have an acting captain in his ship for the time; and, as there are some ships of the line now in sight, which we conclude to be those expected from England, it is probable Sir R. will go in a day or two. We are to have a squadron sent up the Straits, of which I should by no means dislike being one if it were not for the long time I should probably be without hearing from you; however, likes and dislikes are of no consequence in such a situation as this, and we must e'en take our chance. Peace, peace, is the anxious cry here. Hope has been fourteen months at home in these eight years; and Captain Rutherford told us yesterday, declaring that it was d—d foolish for a sailor to marry—that he had been in that happy state for nine years, one only of which had he been with his wife!

October 5.

I saw to-day papers of the 20th of last month, by which I conclude that the continental war is now pretty far advanced, and that either the fleet in Cadiz must push out shortly or be entirely dismantled. Indeed, we hear that Buonaparte ordered them out some time ago, and that, after holding a council of war, they refused to come, although we were then two or three and twenty only; that he then ordered the admirals to Paris, and they declined that also; and that he has, in consequence, sent Admiral Duplex to supersede Villeneuve. So distant as Lord Nelson keeps us from Cadiz, I think it very possible they may contrive to give us a good run for it; but I think if we do come up with them, with such a fleet as we have, including seven three-deckers and

about as many 80-gun ships, they stand a chance of being rather roughly handled.

October 6.

The reason of our keeping so far off is that the westerly winds which may shortly set in strong shall not drive us up the Gut, which Lord Nelson thinks a worse evil than the chance of the fleet getting out and running for it.

October 7, 9 P.M.

Brown and Hope were too far windward to come to dinner to-day; but I have nevertheless had a very passable day with two other brother-captains; a wish for peace and a disgust for the service being the burden of our songs. Some are disposed to think the fleet will come out; but if they do, it will certainly be when they have a pretty fair chance of reaching Toulon or Carthagena before we can catch them. Brown thinks they will steal off by small squadrons; which, as the weather advances, will become more probable. Were it not for getting letters, as I have said before, I should prefer being up the straits to this: but this said wish for news from *home*, I confess, is become of serious consequence to my comfort. Sir Robert Calder will, I suppose, now go home; and success go with him I say, in unison with all here whom I have heard talk upon the subject. Little do the public know the feeling of justice in these cases; but I trust their indignation will yet recoil from Sir R. when they learn that the latter part of his letter was purposely suppressed, in which he said (after expressing his intention to see what more could be done with the combined squadron), 'but under the circumstances in which I find myself placed, I shall look at them with a degree of caution as to the consequences.' This is about the substance of it; and is fully justified by his having a superior fleet on each side of him, besides a squadron from Rochfort, which it is only wonderful did not succeed in joining his opponent (and for which probably we may thank the fog), his own disabled ship and two prizes to protect, and the expectation of Lord Nelson, from whom he had received despatches, coming in sight on the outside of the enemy, whilst he prevented a junction between them and the ships in Ferrol. Had this happened, they would have made a capital affair of it: but, on the contrary, had Calder, even supposing it in his power, brought on another battle, and his opponents been then or afterwards joined by either the Ferrol or Rochfort squadron, to both of which Villeneuve had sent despatches of his arrival, and one of which, observe, was then his rendezvous, I

do not hesitate to say that the event would probably have been most calamitous. It is agreed on all sides that all that could be done on the 22nd was done; and that on the 23rd the enemy had got so far to windward that it was quite impossible to bring them to action; and the whole that can be said as to the 24th is, that if the enemy had chosen to meet him he might have renewed the battle.

I maintain that the utmost that can be brought against Sir Robert Calder then, is a small error in judgment; but I by no means admit that such charge can be made good. However, the Admiralty have thought proper to promote —— for his statement of Sir Richard's conversation with him, and have passed by all his officers unnoticed. And I trust, in investigating the point at issue betwixt them, the public will yet see the cruelty and injustice of thus persecuting a man who has served his country faithfully, and with the credit of a brave and good officer, for more than five and forty years, and who for those services has been decorated by the King with a *medal*, a *knighthood*, and a *baronetcy*. And are *we*, with such a prospect before us, to eat salt beef and get the scurvy in a prison for eight or nine months, &c. &c. &c., for thirteen shillings a day? No wonder if, under such circumstances, we listen to the rewards and promises of Lloyd's Coffee House.

October 16.

Sir R. Calder's story will be better known, I hope, before you receive this, and have met a little justice at the hands of the *public*, if not of Ministers, who dare not *order* a court-martial on him, although they force him to ask for it by means unworthy of anybody but Ministers. Even the authority that has biassed you is too interested to have effect on me, who am more aware of the facts. It is easy for people to say (and I have said it all before) that his own letter condemns him: but *it is not his own letter*, but an EXTRACT from it which they have published, because the *whole* letter would have exposed the truth of the situation in which the Ministry had placed him: they might have ended with his bad account of the action if they pleased, but having gone into the next sentence with an evident view to rest the whole weight on his shoulders, they should certainly have completed it. I have urged him strongly to make the whole public; not only on account of his own honour, but for the general good: for I am one of those who will resist to the utmost the principle of passive obedience to that mean exercise of power, which sacrifices an officer to the intrigue

of office. 'A driveller!' How came a driveller entrusted with the command of fifteen sail destined to oppose nearly forty? and I would also ask, how came —— to escape after a conduct liable to have produced the loss of the whole West Indies to England, without even that public censure which would have been some compliment to general indignation? Aye, and from the hands of those very same people who are now using the utmost exertion of ministerial power and influence to crush an officer of unblemished character, after betwixt forty and fifty years' service, who, with a squadron of *fifteen, attacked, defeated,* and *captured two* out of twenty sail of the line, almost in the presence of one squadron of (I believe) sixteen, and another of eight ordered to form a junction! You are much misinformed, my dear Jane, as to his abilities and character altogether, and I hope the world will yet do justice to both. If this man is such a second-rate officer, how came he to be chosen by the discerning Lord St. Vincent for his first captain? No, no; the real truth is that he wrote very often to represent the necessity of his force being increased, and thereby exposed the misconduct of the Ministry in leaving him so very inferior.

So ignorant were the Ministers, that Sir R. Calder had orders to go to *Ireland* after the fleet which are *now in Cadiz*; and had he not had abilities superior to them, this immense force would probably by this time have been ready at Toulon to co-operate with the French army in Italy. He also showed some courage in disobeying their orders under such circumstances, and no little good-will in coming into a country which disagrees with him, to put himself under the command of a man barely his superior officer (Collingwood). Nobody denies his having done all that could be done on the 22nd, and yet the Admiralty have promoted the lieutenant of the ——, who had no more to do with the action than you or I, without noticing his first lieutenant, or that of any other of the ships engaged. . . . . Different facts must be produced before I can alter my opinion, which cannot arise from prejudice, because I had but little acquaintance, and never served with Sir R. Calder before. . . . . To make the whole complete, he was ordered home in a frigate, without his officers; but Lord Nelson, like an officer and a gentleman, gave him his own ship, and also all the captains here, who were under his command in the action, except ——, who *being the only man amongst them under obligations to Sir Robert,* begged to decline leaving his ship *at so important* a moment!

'Orion:' October 19, 1805, 8 P.M.

How would your heart beat for me, dearest Jane, did you but know that we are now under every stitch of sail we can set, steering for the enemy, whom we suppose to be come out of Cadiz! Lord Nelson had just hoisted his *dinner flag* to several captains at 9 o'clock this morning, when to my great astonishment he wore ship and made the signal for a general chase to windward. It was nearly calm, and has continued so ever since, till towards evening: but we have now a nice air, which fills our flying kites and drives us along four knots an hour. 'Orion,' true to the affection we bear her, has now got a-head of *all* but 'Belleisle,' although she started in the very middle of the fleet, half of which were to windward and half to leeward. 'Defence' and 'Agamemnon' are upon the look-out nearest to Cadiz, and I conclude have seen all the enemy's movements; 'Colossus' and 'Mars' were stationed next, so as to keep up the communication with the fleet. The above four, and as many more of us, are now to form an advanced squadron; and I trust by the morning we shall all be united and in sight of the enemy. We are fully prepared in every respect, and I have every confidence in the result being such as will at least keep up and justify the esteem you have for your husband. As to my coming out of the battle alive or dead, that is the affair of chance and the little cherub: but that I shall come out without dishonour is my affair; and yet I have but little apprehension about the matter, so great is my confidence in my ship, and in our excellent Admiral. It is not, dear Jane, that I am insensible to the value of life with such a domestic circle as I belong to: no, my heart was never more alive to the sacrifice than at this very moment. But life in such a situation as this, even with the delightful prospect of returning to pass years in the society of a wife and children whom I love with a religious reverence, is really but a secondary consideration. However, it will be all over before you get this, and it is, therefore, needless to dwell longer on the subject. I feel a little tired; and, as I have now nothing to do but keep the ship's head the right way, and take care that the sails are well trimmed, in readiness for the morning, I shall even make that over to the officer of the watch and go to my cot; nor do I think I shall sleep the worse for my cabin being only divided from the quarter-deck by a boat's sail. And so, dear, I shall wish thee once more a good night, and that thy husband's conduct in the hour of battle may prove worthy of thee and thy children.

October 20.

All our gay hopes are fled; and, instead of being under all possible sail in a very light breeze and fine weather, expecting to bring the enemy to battle, we are now under close-reefed topsails, in a very strong wind with thick rainy weather, and the dastardly French we find returned to Cadiz. Had they persevered we should certainly have come up with them, from the decisive dash we made for the Gut of Gibraltar. Of further particulars I know nothing; but Hope, I observe, has been on board the Admiral, and he, I conclude, has been just without shot of them all the time. I have no hesitation in saying that 'Orion' beat all the fleet, except 'Belleisle'; because we were much more advanced than any but her; and, as we gained on her greatly to windward, and also when we each steered the same course, I am not dissatisfied with respect to *her* even. In short, we are all charmed with our little ship, and have every confidence in her power of sailing in whatever point circumstances may direct. I went to bed last night full of hope that Lord Nelson's declaration would be verified; viz. that we should have a good battle, and go home to eat our Christmas dinner.

From Sir E. C.'s dictation to J. B. (many years later):

Lord Nelson's mode of blockading Cadiz was by being about twenty leagues off, well out of sight of Cadiz, so that the French fleet could not know what he was doing; while by means of his look-out ships a chain of communication was kept up, and he was kept aware of all the enemy's movements and everything that passed in the French fleet, and they knew nothing of his movements except that Admiral Louis was detached to Gibraltar with his squadron. The French therefore knew that he had diminished his force by that squadron, and were not aware that he had been reinforced by three other ships from England.

Under a conviction that the French would push for Toulon as soon as they came out of Cadiz, Lord Nelson made the signal to our fleet to make sail for Cape Spartel, as the probable means of meeting with them at the Gut of Gibraltar. Instead of pursuing that course which seemed so evident, the French Admiral, finding he could not avoid being brought to action before he could reach any port of advantage, wore round and stood back towards Cadiz. Lord Nelson then arranged our fleet to windward of the French, so as to prevent their escaping him either by pushing for Toulon or for Brest.

In this position, abreast of each other, the two fleets continued all the following day (Sunday, October 20th) and night. On the morning of Monday, October 21st, there was evident appearance, from a heavy swell into the Bay and gloomy atmosphere, of a S.W. gale coming on. At this time the French fleet continued standing towards the Gut of Gibraltar, when they suddenly wore round so as to have Cadiz under their lee with every appearance of a determination to go into that port. Lord Nelson therefore took advantage of their confusion in wearing, and bore down to attack them with the fleet in two columns.

On the Sunday morning, Lord Nelson, as a compliment to Collingwood, called him on board by signal to consult with him, saying to Hardy, jocosely, that he should not be guided by his opinion unless it agreed with his own; and, upon asking him, Collingwood gave his opinion in favour of attacking the fleet immediately. Lord Nelson, however, kept to his own plan of waiting till he could get them further off; and as they did not seem determined to return immediately to Cadiz, but to persevere in attempting to pursue their original intention of pushing for Toulon, he continued waiting upon them, in two columns according to the order of sailing, and the memorable written instruction which was given out to all the captains.

Of course I do not pretend to give an account of the Battle of Trafalgar, which is so fully related elsewhere.[1] My business is solely with the part played in the engagement by the 'Orion,' as given in home letters from her captain; but I claim the privilege of referring to the Admiral's order of battle to the captain of the 'Orion,' which, with the honoured signature of 'Nelson and Bronte' attached to it, remains as an heirloom in the Codrington family. I have added a personal anecdote relating to Lord Nelson's famous signal to his fleet, which is not very generally known; it was confirmed to me in March, 1871, by Sir William Rae, who, without knowing that I was acquainted with it, related it to me as having been *told to himself by Captain Pascoe*, in almost the same words.

In a letter of 29th October, 1840, from Captain

[1] The list of the ships engaged will be found in the Appendix.

Pascoe, who was senior and flag lieutenant of the 'Victory' at the Battle of Trafalgar, to Mr. Cole, of Upper Norton Street, Plymouth, he writes as follows:

His lordship came to me on the poop, and after ordering certain signals to be made, about a quarter to noon he said: 'Mr. Pascoe, I wish to say to the fleet, "England confides that every man will do his duty".'—And he added, 'You must be quick, for I have one more to make, which is for close action.' I replied, 'If your lordship will permit me to substitute the word "expects" for "confides" the signal will sooner be completed, because the word "expects" is in the vocabulary, but the word "confides" must be spelt.' His lordship replied in haste, and with seeming satisfaction, 'That will do, Pascoe; make it directly.' When it had been answered by a few ships in the van, he ordered me to make the signal for close action, and to keep it up: accordingly I hoisted No. 16 at the top-gallant mast-head, and there it remained until shot away.

From Captain C. to Lord Garlies.[1]

'Orion': October 28, 1805.

Although our poor Nelson is no more, and although a hurricane for the last week has deprived us of most of our prizes, we have added honour to the name of Britons. 'Victory' led the weather and 'Sovereign' the lee line, like steady heroes. We all scrambled into battle as soon as we could, and I believe have done our best *in imitation* of the *noble example* before us. I was in the middle of the battle before I fired a gun, not liking to waste our fire, and my men behaved as coolly as possible. When our own length from a wounded Frenchman (the 'Swiftsure'), I gave leave to fire —carried away his masts, and made him strike. We then passed on to Gravina's ship, but we could not get within three cables' length of him and his supporters; and thus we continued, meeting now and then a French and a Spanish ship with whom we exchanged fire. At length, after a continuance of firing against a sort of reserve line they had formed, I found the opportunity of assisting 'Leviathan,' who had just beat the 'St. Augustin' (Spanish), and who was galled by L'Intrépide (French) (*one* bold one out of their shy van)—we got up what studding-sails were left, began on his *starboard* quarter, and in turning round from thence to his *lee* bow (almost calm), we carried away his tiller and his three masts, and took possession. He had fought bravely

[1] Then a Lord of the Admiralty.

with several others, and was determined to fight till the last extremity, as he did. When I first made for him I thought we should have had their whole van also upon about four of us, but *Dieu merci* they only fired on us at a distance. You will judge of the action when I tell you that *entouré de feu et de fumée*, I three times met with Gravina's ship, the 'Prince of Asturias,' who got off after all by avoiding close action. I am not wishing to speak of 'Orion,' because *each* ship engaged must have fought with a dozen enemies, and those headmost in the line had much the greater part of the action. It was all confusion when 'Ajax' and 'Orion' got down, and Croft was afraid I should find no ship to engage closely, as I had promised my men; but there were still enough for us to keep up a cannonade of five hours, as I expected, and for which I had prepared myself by not wasting our fire. This reserve did well for me, for our fire on 'L'Intrépide' within shot of their whole van was the best directed and best kept up I ever saw. We burned her with 14 feet of water in her hold: we are now taking out the 'St. Augustins' to burn her; and I believe we, here at anchor, have each 500 prisoners on board already. I towed a prize belonging to 'Bellerophon' from close to Trafalgar in safety for three days, but having my topsails blown out of the boltropes, and one bumpkin carried away, with the foremast wounded, and only six miles from the lee shore near St. Mary's in the worst hurricane I ever saw, I was obliged to quit her, to save my own ship, which I had little hopes of. 'Ajax' and 'Orion' were much together, and employed in the same way, each profiting by circumstances and assisting each other.

Pilford will, of course, write to Brown;[1] but send him this

[1] Edward Codrington and 'Billy Brown' first became acquainted when travelling in the stage-coach together to join the same ship for their first cruise; and they continued fast friends till the death of the latter, in command at Jamaica, in 1814.

The following characteristic letter from Lord St. Vincent will be welcome to all readers:—

Torr Abbey: October 30, 1800.

My dear Brown,—The Admiralty have at length found out what I have told them over and over, that you are one of the very few men capable of commanding a ship of war as she ought to be in these times. What Lord Spencer will do further for you I know not, but you will never want a staunch friend in me, and it is upon the cards that I may be in a situation one day or other to prove that my professions are not windy words. You shall have the best man this fleet affords for a master; and if you can bring proof against any man or number of men who have seditiously behaved, they will be drafted: their destiny shall be very soon settled.

Yours most truly,

To Captain Brown, of H. M. Ship 'Robust,' Cawsand Bay, Plymouth.

ST. VINCENT.

also. How I lament his not being here! He and I could have gone together under the greatest advantage, and, I think, between us we would have got Gravina, who was at one time my decided object. When driven in close to Cadiz on the 23rd the remaining French might have got at me, if they had had spunk, being far to leeward of them; but I kept my prize in tow, and they contented themselves with retaking three others. You will know all official particulars, and I shall, therefore, only say that I am well, and in hope of soon seeing you. I trust, at all events, 'Orion' will now get home; for I do not wish to stay here under Collingwood. Croft, I trust, will be promoted, and indeed he richly deserves it.

I am now of a mind to rest contented, whenever I get once on shore again, with having made a good finale. We have not one officer killed or wounded, although we have some very awkward shot about the hull, except, indeed, two mids, who are wounded slightly. But such is the confusion that we hardly know, or can find out, how to make out our list; we have on board men belonging to all the ships of the fleet, taken out of the different prizes destroyed.

Kind remembrances to Lady G. Yours ever,

E. C.

Send to Mrs. C. that I am well, in case she should not get my letter.

From Captain Codrington to Mrs. C. (Continuation of letter of 20th October on the same sheet.)

October 28.

On the 20th the signal was again made that the fleet were at sea, and on the 21st, the wind being more moderate, but with a heavy swell, we bore down to attack them, although they took care to keep Cadiz under their lee. The weather has been so horrid ever since that we have lost half our prizes, and with difficulty saved our own fleet (if, indeed, they are all saved), the wind directly on shore, and no power of clearing the St. Mary's point one way or Trafalgar the other. I trust now, however, that as the wind is over we shall still get away some of the prizes safe. I believe (but we have hardly had any communication but with the prizes) that we took nineteen, sunk one, and burned one in the action—how many we burnt and sunk since out of those, I know not. I have made a bonfire of 'L'Intrépide,' who struck to 'Orion,' and have now a part of her people and also of a Spaniard—probably about five hundred prisoners—besides my own men. Our

list of wounded is only twenty-three, and killed but one. In the ships which led the noble attack it must be much greater. But our Nelson, our *truly noble* Nelson, is no more! he was killed early in the action, having himself led the van division.

Collingwood led the other *famously*, and is well.

All the officers and youngsters are well except Townshend, who is getting slowly rid of rheumatic fever. I cannot write more fully now. Croft desires to be remembered—he is a good fellow. I am shaking off the *severe fag* of the *most* severe week I have ever passed, and am as well as you can wish me; and *ever, ever* yours.—E. C.

From Captain Codrington to Mrs. C.

October 30.

Do not, my dearest, think me wanting in attention if you have heard of our glorious, yet hard-earned victory, without knowing whether your poor husband is alive or dead. The horrid weather which came on the following day dispersed us in such a manner that, until to-day, I have never known whether all our ships were safe or not; nor have I yet had any communication but with 'Leviathan' and 'Ajax.' Indeed I have, at this minute, men belonging to several different ships, whom I have got out of the different prizes we have been under the necessity of destroying on account of the weather. As to the 'Orion,' she is now getting to rights in her sails and rigging again, and might perhaps be in some order, were it not for the number of prisoners, and the dirt, filth, stench, and confusion they occasion. Besides our own people we had yesterday nearly 100 men of other ships, and 580 prisoners, French and Spanish. In short, we victualled yesterday nearly *twelve hundred people.* To-morrow we are to be relieved of our wounded prisoners, which is a great comfort: we have about thirty on board, and they not only take up much room and attention, but, poor creatures, the stench is most intolerable. I presume we shall shortly make for Gibraltar, where eight of our ships and one Spanish prize now are: and if we do not there get rid of our Spanish prisoners they will, of course, be more divided amongst the fleet than they are at present. I hope we shall hear of no jealousies and reproaches amongst one another, although I fear it is impossible to avoid it. It is, however, always to be remembered that those who led must have had most, necessarily; and that a ship being late

in action was no discredit to her if she was not behind her station. The lee line were in much more open order than ours. Our line pressed so much upon each other as to be obliged to go bow and quarter instead of a-head, thus—

I suppose no man ever before saw such a sight so clearly as I did, or rather as we did; for I called all my lieutenants up to see it. After passing 'Santa Anna' dismasted, and her opponent the 'Royal Sovereign' little better, on our larboard side, besides three of our ships and some of those of the enemy all lumped together on our starboard bow, we passed close to the 'Victory,' 'L'Indomptable' (French), 'Téméraire,' and 'Bucentaure' (French), all abreast or aboard each other, each firing her broadside and boarding the other at the same time.

'Victory'[1] 'Indomptable' 'Téméraire' 'Bucentaure'

In this situation the two French ships were soon settled; but as we were the only ship thereabout not firing (for even the 'Agamemnon,' far astern of us, was blazing away and wasting her ammunition), we were the only people who could have a distinct uninterrupted view of that grand and awful scene. The shot both from friends and foes were flying about us like hailstones, and yet did us hardly any damage whatever; and, to the honour of 'Orion's' crew, they did not attempt to break my orders to reserve their fire till I could put the ship where I wished. The occasional request of —— to fire, who was very anxious to be doing, was the only interruption I met with. All the rest were as cool as if they had been used to such scenes, and Croft all astonishment at the sight and all attention to my orders. I still persevered in my reserve in spite of the firing all around us, until I saw an unfortunate Frenchman, the 'Swiftsure,' not closely occupied; and going close under his stern we poured him in such a dose as carried away his three masts and made him strike his colours. Having repeatedly pointed out to my men the waste of shot from other ships, I had now a fine opportunity of convincing them of the benefit of cool reserve. In my next

[1] 'Victory,' 'Redoubtable,' 'Téméraire,' 'Fougeux;' and 'Bucentaure' on 'Victory's' larboard bow.—E. C.

attempt to close with a French two-decker which annoyed the 'Victory,' my second ahead ('Ajax') cut me out, and I could only fire at a little distance. I then made for Admiral Gravina in the 'Prince of Asturias,' but the 'Dreadnought' again cut me out here, and yet, like the 'Ajax,' did not close and make a finish of it. I had therefore to undergo what always alarms me, a distant cannonade, for a considerable time, and what mischief we met with was from that said 'Prince of Asturias,' with whom we had three of these distant salutes in the course of the action between the fleets, and who escaped for want of being more closely attacked. Croft still wanted some more, and I told him I thought the battle was yet to come; and had their van done well, we should have had a hard task to have taken our own parts.

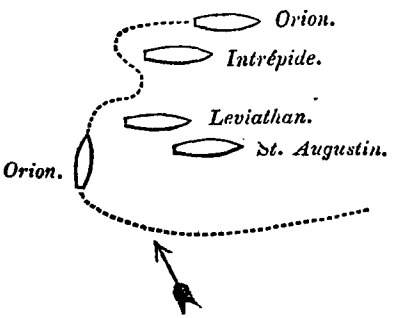
10 at night.

I am just ordered to wait on the Admiral and seal this to send. Ever yours, E. C.

October 31.

I was in the act of writing last night at 11 o'clock, when 'Euryalus,' with Admiral Collingwood on board, passed under our stern; and shortly afterwards the Admiral sent a boat for me merely to 'how d'ye do,' and talk over our condition, as being my first communication with him since the action. He makes out eleven French and eleven Spanish who were taken, but three or four got away the first night after, from not being sufficiently secured. Of this, however, his despatches will give you more full and clear accounts; and I shall therefore confine myself to other matter. I was proceeding to describe 'Orion' last night when I was sent for and desired to take my letters with me, and know not how far I had got. This, however, was our finale, and, I believe, the finale of the whole affair. Seeing 'Leviathan' make a fine and well-judged attack on a Spanish seventy-four, 'St. Agustin' (in the van of the enemy when there were eight or nine others, French and Spanish untouched, which ought to have come to her support), I made sail to assist her. 'L'Intrépide,' however, was the only one which wore and came to action gallantly, keeping up a very good fire both on 'Leviathan' and the Spaniard, of whom she was taking possession. After several fruitless attempts to pass by one or two of our ships, who kept up a distant cannonade on her, I managed, first to back all sail so as to get under 'Ajax's' stern, and then to make all sail so as to pass close across 'Leviathan's' head, who hailed me and

said he hoped, laughing, that *I* should make a *better fist of it* (if not *elegant*, still very cheering to me to meet so much confidence and good opinion); and then to bear down sufficiently to get our starboard guns to bear on 'L'Intrépide's' starboard quarter, and then to turn gradually round from thence under his stern, pass his broadside, and bring to on his larboard bow. He had said he would not strike till his masts and rudder were shot away; and this we did for him in so handsome a way that he had no time to do us much injury. Indeed, the only injury we received, except some few chance shot from *friends* and *foes* indiscriminately, was from the 'Prince of Asturias,' Admiral Gravina, with whom I was prevented from closing by one of *our own three-deckers*, who nevertheless did not contrive to act up to my intentions for '*Orion*' had she not been thus impeded. My prize's head was in the contrary way to that of all our fleet, and we



(Traced from Captain C.'s own letter.)

were almost within shot of the enemy's van who were in a line to leeward, and one of whom continued for half-an-hour to show a disposition to attack us. However they, to my great joy, all bore up for Cadiz, and 'Ajax' came to assist me in taking my prize in tow. I begged 'Ajax' to take her in tow for the night, intending to do so myself in the morning; but the weather began to change, the tow-rope broke, and I never saw her till the day we were ordered to destroy her. We, however, took charge of another instead, the 'Bahama,' and had more difficulties to encounter than I hope ever to meet with again. On the 23rd, in a calm, heavy swell, and violent rain, we were obliged to anchor within a few miles of Cadiz to prevent being driven in nearer, their remaining ships (ten) being without the harbour, and coming down to attack us. They re-took one two-decker which was left to herself, and also the 'Santa Anna,' three-decker, which the 'Thunderer' had in tow; but although to lee-

ward of the 'Thunderer' much, and so situated that they could easily have come up with me, and with one of their frigates then within shot firing at us, I persevered in retaining the ship in tow, in order, if I must quit her, that she might be driven on Portugal instead of Spain; and I was the more encouraged to do this, because, had they attacked me, they could not have again fetched into Cadiz, and would have risked an action with some of our fleet then to windward. They therefore contented themselves with the two they had, and returned to Cadiz. In the middle of the night, however, we had the most violent hurricane I ever was in, which blew away our main-topsail out of the rope which surrounds it, although it was close reefed, and also even the fore-topsail *after it was clewed up ready for furling.* For an hour and a half or two hours we dare not attempt to set even a storm stay-sail, although within about six miles of a lee shore where we must have been lost; and we therefore prepared to trust to our anchors, and cut away the masts; but the wind abating sufficiently for us to set our reefed fore and main sail, after unwillingly making up my mind to cut the tow-rope, and sacrifice the unfortunate people in the prize, the 'Bahama,' in spite of their signals of distress, I wore round, took advantage of the wind veering a little to the westward, and clawed off shore. It is a great comfort to me that the people in that prize were taken out by my launch, after all, on the 26th, and the vessel burned on the strand yesterday. Considering circumstances, we are most fortunate in saving all our own fleet, although we have only four prizes out of our twenty-two or three to show for our victory. In telling you all this so much in detail I do not mean to say 'Orion' did more than others; and I should be guilty of hypocrisy if I gave you that impression. Those who were in action first had most to do, and doing their all, did best; and the great difficulties they had to contend with, and their proportionate sufferings, entitle them to a greater share of honour; but this I will say for 'Orion,' 'that she took all the fighting she could get coolly and deliberately, always reserving her fire to produce decision, and never risking the firing into, but cautiously assisting her own friends.' Ten minutes before I thought myself near enough to fire a gun into a ship I was approaching, was I obliged to desire a ship on 'Orion's' quarter *not to fire* into us in her eagerness to fire at the *distant* enemy. But, however, it was all well

done *errors excepted*, and I hope we shall have no abuse about want of good conduct.

November 3.

We are now standing up the Gut of Gibraltar, in company with fifteen sail of our ships which have been partly disabled, and I hope to get to an anchor this evening. I began this letter in the hope of sending it by 'Euryalus,' but I doubt if she is not already gone; and where our admiral is, God knows—for none of us could find him all yesterday. I am now acting without orders, and even without having any rendezvous appointed; and this, surely, shows that the mind of a *commander-in-chief* should not be bent on trifles, but devoted to the more extensive objects of his fleet. What his plans may be for the future I cannot judge; but, according to appearances, he intends to continue blockading the few remaining discomfited and dismantled ships which have sheltered themselves in Cadiz. In fact, there are but three ships there now with all their masts standing, some of those which stood out on the 23rd having been since dismasted or lost, and one taken and destroyed by us; so that in their recapture of two dismasted prizes they became more losers than gainers. Carthagena and Toulon ought now to attract our principal attention, and we have ships enough left to send there; but several of our totally dismasted ships must go home, amounting, I should think, to eight or nine, and surely they will not be suffered to go without others to protect them if necessary. Of this number I hope 'Orion' will be one; because, if even this should still be the most desirable station, we have so many wants and difficulties that I am anxious to get home to become better prepared for hereafter. I think, however, that Ministers will see their own interest in sending out the few fresh ships which may be necessary, and ordering all those in the action to make their appearance at Spithead together. Our circular letter of thanks from Admiral C. is too laboured to be good. Had our Nelson lived, what *éclat*, what dignity there would have been in all his proceedings! It is certainly the greatest victory in our annals, and it should be verified to England by those who assisted in gaining it, in 'propria persona.' For the present, good-bye.

Captain C. to Mrs. C.

Sunday, November 3.

Poor Hardy has just been here, and I cannot describe to you how much I feel interested about him. From the first

day that I saw him on board the 'Victory' I was captivated by his manner, so unusual and yet so becoming to his situation as confidant of Lord Nelson; and I gave in to the general good opinion of the fleet. He has not beauty or those accomplishments which attract sometimes *on shore above* all other qualities; but he is very superior in his situation, and I feel for him more, perhaps, than our short acquaintance justifies.

I will beg him to deliver this in person if he goes to town, or, at all events, to make himself known to you, and if you can show him any civility you will do so for my sake. At the same time, dearest, that I ask this, I know not what civility lies in your power; but I would say, let your heart so incline and let it ever beat in unison with mine, on every, the most trifling, occasion!

The 'Victory' and four or five others will go towards England directly; and it is supposed we shall all go home thus in squadrons; drivelling away thus, as I suspected, the whole *éclat* of this glorious victory!!! I went with Hope and King to wait on the Port Admiral here last night, and we went in our dirty boots to the Governor's ball, and are to dine with him to-day. Poor Hardy has, however, unfitted me for the sort of thing, and I wish I were to stay quietly on board. We are just sending our Spanish prisoners away in exchange, and shall, therefore, have only about 200 French to annoy us. If you are asked if I claim any prize, say no, that I claim nothing more than having done my duty. I shall thereby avoid all jealousies whatever; and these claimers, of whom there will be many, will expose themselves. Be mine as I am yours. E. C.

Extract from the log of H. M. S. 'Orion.'

November 14, 1805.

The officers and ship's company being assembled, the captain read the proposal of the admiral to them that two thousand pounds[1] should be deducted from the prize money for the action on the 21st of October, 1805, for the purpose of erecting a monument on Postdown Hill to the memory of Lord Nelson, the late commander-in-chief, which the officers and ship's company all agreed to, and as much more if required. Also that H. M. S. 'Donegal' should share with them.

[1] Note in the log-book, in Captain C.'s hand writing:—'The people thought it too little.'

Captain C. to Lord Garlies.

'Orion,' Cadiz: November 4, 1805.

My dear Garlies,—As our admiral is not come in, we know nothing of our destination; but as I feared, so I find, that we are doing every thing in a sort of drivelling way which will not increase the *éclat* of our victory. The disabled ships, which must of necessity go home, have a *kind of understanding* that they are to go home by fives, without any ship to protect or assist them if necessary; and I must confess that I now envy those who lost their masts in the gale after the action, and who have come in here without having shifted their sails, spliced their shrouds, or done anything to make themselves efficient. From the want also of the presence of our admiral, and a unanimity in our proceedings, the ships' companies are beginning to abuse each other. We are all in distress about our poor wives hearing of the action and not knowing if we are dead or alive; and even if 'Euryalus' is gone now, of which we are not certain, she did not start till a fortnight after the schooner, which is a most cruel circumstance.

Why could not the question have been asked by telegraph the day after the action, instead of one of the numerous signals we have had made by that means? Poor Morris seems to me much agitated by his fears for his wife under these distressing circumstances; he and Tyler are, however, doing well, and I trust will recover entirely. Lord Collingwood certainly went into action in the finest style possible, and is as brave a man as ever stepped on board a ship; I can also believe him to be a very good man in his way, but he has none of the dignity an admiral should have, and seems to lose all the great outline of a chief command in his attention to minutiæ. What he is now doing God knows; I believe we have no ships now at sea which were in the action but the 'Dreadnought,' 'Spartiate,' and 'Britannia' in one squadron, and 'Leviathan' and 'Ajax' in another, loaded with prisoners, and waiting for orders to come in. I thought it my duty, however, to come here as soon as possible, under the hint that I was to come in shortly, before our fevers, which were beginning amongst the Spaniards, increased. Although obliged to beg water from 'Ajax' we were victualling 1,190 *persons*; which I think was inducement enough to come here as soon as possible.

We have got rid of the Spaniards, but not of the French,

of whom we have 250 still remaining. At all events, as there is now no longer a Lord Nelson to serve with here, I should wish to get home as soon as possible. *Never* whilst I live shall I cease to regret his loss. *He* made the signal to prepare to anchor; and had Admiral Collingwood *acted upon that hint* we might now have secured almost all our prizes, and the news would, ere this time, have been public at Vienna and in the army of Buonaparte, where it would have made a sensation advantageous to the Austrian cause. How I lament poor Brown's absence! (attending Sir Robert Calder's court-martial.) I hardly know how to write to him on the subject. His 'Ajax' did all she could, under circumstances; but had he been there he would have seen things quicker, and we might have gone hand in hand more satisfactorily. All the ships that got on board others seem as usual to be razés entirely, and to have a great slaughter: their sufferings and their greater difficulties in making way for us little ones more in the rear, entitle them to a greater share of honour. They have my submission on that score; and I only claim doing all I had to do, and doing it well.

Ever and sincerely yours,—E. C.

Captain C. to his brother, Mr. Bethell.[1]

'Orion,' November 15, Gibraltar.

I have been in such a constant hurry and worry, my dear Bethell, refitting my ship, getting rid of prisoners, &c. &c., since my arrival here, that I have had no time to write other than official letters; but as we are detained a day longer than I expected, and the remaining squadron of our crippled ships going to England are detained also, I must give you a little cosy line, taking the chance of its growing into a letter. Had I *played a game*, or even made a *fair* report of the state of my ship, I think I should now be on my way home; but being asked by Admiral Collingwood what state we were in the first time I saw him after the action, I answered that we had knotted our rigging, fished our wounded foremast, and helped ourselves out of the prizes to many articles for which we were much distressed, and that we were then fit and *ready* for any service whatever. By this report he judged of the real state of the ship; not considering that the zeal which prompted one report off Cadiz, when ships were wanted, might not justify any but a very different one when at anchor off an arsenal. However, others are gone

[1] Captain Codrington's brother William took the name of Bethell on inheriting the property of an uncle of that name.

home by adopting a different mode of proceeding; and *we*, who before the action were considered scarcely efficient enough to belong to the fleet, are now, by the same commander, thought fit to enter upon severe winter service. It is, however, discovered, upon examination, that our lower rigging is not trustworthy, and that the wound in our foremast is of a very serious nature. Had we all gone home together it would have been highly gratifying; but frittered away as the *éclat* of so grand a victory has been, in consequence of the irreparable loss of the greatest admiral England ever knew, I should now prefer passing the winter in this country, living in the hope of being exchanged in the spring by some ship fresh from England. In a battle of such note there will always be some whose vanity leads them to paint their conduct in too warm a tint, and to sound their own trumpets without regard to concord or harmony; but above all I have ever yet heard is ——. He *behaved certainly very well*, and was in a most conspicuous situation; and having received the praises of Admiral Collingwood into the bargain, he is become the greatest bore I ever met with. He thinks the '*Victory*' did nothing whatever towards effecting the capture of the 'Redoubtable,' although she kept up her fire on her after they were on board each other, and *actually*, with great deliberation, threw a *bucket of water* to put out the fire of the wads from their own guns, which fairly stuck into the 'Redoubtable's' sides, lest, by her taking fire, they should *all be burned together*. Passing down, as the 'Orion' did, through the whole group of those whose fortune it was to be placed *foremost* in the attack, and who were then all engaged with their various opponents, without firing a single gun to impede my view, although the ship next astern as well as all those a-head of us were firing broadside after broadside, I had an opportunity of seeing more of what was doing than, perhaps, any other captain in the whole fleet, and *so grand*, so *awful*, and so *tremendous* was the scene before me, that the impression will be ever fresh on my mind. The gratification of that sight was almost as great a recompense for our coolly reserving our fire, as the effect produced on the first ship which I conceived to be a proper object of attack. However, I will reserve this for some fireside occasion, when the relish derived from recollection of such scenes is so much increased by the highly-contrasted tranquillity of a small domestic circle. The battle after all, as I warned my officers, is nothing compared with the fatigue, the anxiety, the distress of mind which succeeds, more particularly in

case of such horrible weather as we had to encounter on this occasion. I confess I thought it hard and grievous to be obliged to prepare for a *watery* grave, and to feed for some hours on bare hope, with all our sails blown from the yards and no possibility of setting others to claw off a lee shore, after having so well escaped the chances of the action. It is not fighting, my dear W., which is the severest part of *our* life, it is the having to contend with the sudden changes of season, the war of elements, the dangers of a lee shore, and so forth, which produce *no food for honour or glory* beyond the internal satisfaction of doing a duty *we* know to be most important, although passed by others unknown and unnoticed. Perhaps the saving the lives of the men on board the prizes, both English and foreigners, previous to their being destroyed or lost, was one of the most trying duties men could possibly be put to; and yet, in spite of the noble exertions made on all sides to effect this object, humanity shudders at the recollection of the numbers who perished. Of those left on board the 'Fougeux' only three were saved, and the *present*[1] master of this ship, who was on board the 'Rayo,' Spanish three-decker, saw about a hundred perish (including two boats loaded with men belonging to the 'Donegal') during the time he secured himself by the poop, which was still above water. The poor Spaniards behaved very creditably indeed: they not only sent boats for them (English and all) as soon as the weather moderated, with bread and water for their immediate relief; but when the boat in which the master of the ship was sent had got into Cadiz harbour, a carriage was backed into the water for him to step into from the boat, all sorts of cordials and confectionery were placed in the carriage for him, and clean linen, bed, &c., prepared for him at a lodging on shore: added to which the women and priests presented him with delicacies of all sorts as the carriage passed along the streets. In short, he says, and with very great truth, that had he been wrecked on any part of England he would never have received one-half the attention which he did from these poor Spaniards, whose friends we had just destroyed in such numbers; but I must add, the survivors amongst whom we had been at the greatest pains and risk in saving from the jaws of death. And so, my dear Bethell, good-bye and God bless you, your Anna Maria, and your little Emma.—E. C.

[1] Put into the 'Orion' to succeed the master of the 'Orion,' who was chosen by Lord C. for his master after the action.

Extract from Mr. Bethell to his brother, Captain C.

December 12, 1805.

Mrs. Challoner met at Southampton the chaplain of the 'Téméraire.' In conversation about the battle she said to him, 'Pray, was the "Orion" much in the action?' To which he replied, 'To be sure she was—and was one of the ships that ought to be particularly signalised; and it was the wonder of the fleet that she lost so few men, as she was in the hottest part of the action for twenty minutes; her coolness was admirable, and the judgment of her commander conspicuous; and "L'Intrépide" was her prize.' He described your going down the line, withholding your fire till the right moment—as you have yourself said you did.

Captain C. to Lord Garlies.

'Orion,' November 16, 1805.

My dear Garlies,— . . . . Upon the whole, want of spirits seems to be the order of the day amongst the ships remaining on this station. Lord Nelson's old friends, and those who were *not* in the action more particularly, as having nothing to counteract their sorrow, mourn his loss most grievously, and are almost heart-broken! Poor Hallowell can hardly support himself under it! Old C., upright, bold and zealous as he is, is confused to such a degree in his orders that we don't know what to do under him; and our worthy Port Admiral impedes H. M. service. I reported 'Orion' after the action ready and fit for anything; and the admiral has kept her here in consequence, because he had arranged to send others home; although he thought us unfit to belong to his fleet when we first arrived, and we have now so severe a wound in our foremast that we have had great difficulty in getting it fished with the assistance of his carpenters and those of the yard; and they have reported our fore-rigging, mizentop-rigging, &c., &c., not trustworthy. I have begged, however, to keep our old one for a time, conceiving it preferable, with perventers, to new, for a winter's cruize; but I am also obliged to have so many stores of all sorts from the yard, that it will require a ship-load to replace it, even without fitting for foreign service. I should have liked much to have gone home with the first ships, or all together; but, as the case now stands, I should prefer staying till the spring, if I could ensure my then going.

Ever and sincerely yours,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

Captain C. to his brother, Mr. Bethell.

'Orion,' March 9, 1806.

How shall I thank you sufficiently, my dear Bethell, for all your kindness to my poor anxious Jane during her long and cruel state of suspense? She had told me that if an account of a battle arrived with no little 'All's well' from me she should fear the worst; and I would, of course, have given the world to be able to write by the first conveyance; but, alas! I was too far to leeward amongst the disabled prizes to know even when the vessel sailed; and at one time, indeed, I had lost all prospect of saving my own ship from a lee shore, without having had any communication with the admiral. The Wednesday and the following night were to me times of severer trial than the day of battle. Having had a watchful night in the general chase of the Saturday (before the battle), which continued until daylight on the Sunday morning, I hung up my cot and got a very sound sleep on the Sunday night, although the enemy were ranged under our lee, knowing that it was not Lord Nelson's intention to give them battle till the morning; and at eleven o'clock, when just steering down for them, I gave the ship's company their dinner, and ate the leg of a turkey myself, which was prepared beforehand; so that on that day (the 21st) we were all strong, fresh, hearty, and in high spirits.

But when, after a separation from 'L'Intrépide,' with my first lieutenant (my right hand) and a hundred of my best men, I towed the 'Bahama,' who had only a lieutenant and four seamen on board, from amongst the shoals of Trafalgar—and was on the following Wednesday noon obliged to anchor with her within a few miles of Cadiz, at the very time that the enemy's ten sail were getting underway in order to cut off as many of us as they could reach in safety; my people so worn down as to be absolutely indifferent to my orders,—neither of my officers or myself able scarcely to produce more voice than a whisper,—a fine large frigate tacking across our stern, and trying by a few long shot to rob us of our prize, whilst her consorts stood out with a fine breeze, which allowed of their cutting us off completely if they had had but spunk enough to risk the consequence,—wearied as I was, I found my mind hard pressed to support itself. But the worst was still to come; for the danger of being wrecked on a lee shore, which saved me from the attack of the enemy, became most alarmingly increased by the hurricane, which

came on that night at the most critical moment, and blew all our topsails to atoms; the foretopsail absolutely blew from the yard after it was snugly clewed up; and for about two hours, all which time we were driving towards the shore in utter darkness, we could not venture to show a rag of canvas.[1] With nothing to do but wait the uncertainty of events, in this time of *real* trial, my mind, wandering towards the probable sorrows of her who is dearer to me than myself, was alone supported by the importance of my exertions to the safety of those committed to my care. No, it is not the battle, as I forewarned my officers, but the necessary exertion to save your ship, your prizes, and the many lives which are at stake in consequence, which requires exertion of both mind and body. I kept the 'Bahama,' with the poor lieutenant and his four men, in tow, until the absolute necessity of getting the ship's head the other way obliged me to cast him off, and the opportunity of the violence of the wind abating a little, allowed of making the necessary sail to claw the ship off shore; and you may judge of the pain I felt on seeing her signals of distress in consequence of being left in so hopeless a situation! The necessity of the case, however, raised a little unusual exertion in the poor Spaniards; and, by getting up an anchor out of the hold and letting it go, they saved both the vessel and their lives; and she is now in Gibraltar Mole, waiting the opportunity of going to England. She was finally saved by the unremitting exertions of the 'Donegal'; a fresh ship not in the action, a dear Nelsonian throughout, and in all things perfect.

England is certainly about to be very hardly pushed just now, but I have great faith in a change of Ministry. . . . Let them found their political measures on the basis of national honour and national virtue, and pursue them with the firmness such motives inspire, and we may yet emerge from the cloud of darkness which hangs over us. It is now a war of our liberty against Buonaparte's despotism. The advantages a despotic government has in secresy and expedition must be counteracted by the ardour every man will feel in the support of our excellent constitution, *by being made a partaker of its blessings.*

Long years afterwards, Sir E. C. said to his son Henry that he had never been so glad to see the stars as on one particular night in 1805.

[1] Unprofessional readers must be reminded that at that time there were *no steamships.* Wind and sails formed the only power by which all these large ships, many of them helplessly disabled, could be either moved or guided.

It was during the very bad weather that followed the 21st October, when he was, with his own ship considerably injured in the battle, in charge of disabled prizes which he was endeavouring to save,—while it was difficult enough to save his own ship in the tremendous gales. For a succession of days they had seen neither sun, nor moon, nor stars, when suddenly a small break in the N.-W. sky revealed a few stars, heralding that partial shift of wind from S.-W. to N.-W., which just enabled the ship to creep out from the near danger of the lee shore. Singularly enough those stars were the belt of Orion; and never was good omen more welcome than those stars to the worn-out crew of that sorely-pressed ship.[1]

[1] *From Sir Harris Nicolas's account of the battle of Trafalgar, in 'Letters and Despatches of Lord Nelson,'* 1846.

The Editor is indebted to Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, G. C. B., who commanded the 'Orion' at Trafalgar, for a remarkable fact which is unnoticed by all naval historians. That distinguished officer was so good as to inform him that he is strongly impressed with the belief, 'That Lord Nelson directed eight of the smaller and handier ships, of which "Orion" was one, to be ready to haul out of the line in case the enemy's van should appear to go down to the assistance of the ships engaged, to meet and resist them; that to prevent this manœuvre on the part of the enemy, Lord Nelson intimated his intention of making a feint of hauling out towards their van, and the "Victory" did accordingly haul to port; that though she took in her *larboard* and *weather* studding sails, she kept her starboard studding sails set (notwithstanding they had become the lee ones and were shaking); thus proving that he proposed to resume his course, as those sails would be immediately wanted to get the "Victory" into her former station.'

Sir Edward Codrington also recollects that he called the attention of his first lieutenant to the circumstance, and observed to him, 'How beautifully the admiral is carrying his design into effect!' The log of the 'Victory' does not notice this proceeding, nor is it expressly mentioned in that of any other ship; but, on examining the log of the 'Orion,' in the Admiralty Office, it appears that the impression on Sir E. Codrington's mind is perfectly correct; as it is therein stated that at about thirty-five minutes past noon, 'the "Victory," after making a feint of attacking their van, hauled to starboard, so as to reach their centre, and then wore round so as to pass under the lee of the "Bucentaure";' and the statement is corroborated by the log of the 'Thunderer,' which states that about the same time she 'observed the "Victory" alter her course, and lead the starboard division towards the enemy's centre. The "Téméraire" was then close to the "Victory," and her log states that at the same time, she took in her larboard studding sails, and that she soon after cut away her studding sails, and hauled to the wind.'

This communication from Sir E. Codrington to Sir Harris Nicolas took place when he was 76 years old. It was afterwards confirmed by Lieut.

Captain C. to Mrs. C.

November 4, 1805.

I have written to you a great deal already since the action, and hope some good chance may carry my first letter to you before you hear of our having been so situated by any other means. For indeed I dread the publicity of Admiral C.'s despatches before any of our wives or friends can learn whether we are alive or dead. Indeed, I could almost wish the schooner may be taken, or dismasted, or something of that sort. Can anything be so cruel as to send his despatch away under such circumstances, and *not* take the *very very first* opportunity of relieving the minds of the parents of those in the action? Whether 'Euryalus' is now gone or not we can't tell, but at all events she was not gone a fortnight after he had sent the schooner; and even now he has sent no man of rank in the service, as is usual, who bore a conspicuous part in the action. It seems to be his plan to send the ships home by *driblets*: five are now ordered which are completely disabled, and five more are to follow, and no one of them in a situation to afford the other protection or assistance in case of need. However, three of the prizes are brought in, and possibly he may think them not quite so well able to go alone; and as we have a number of French prisoners still here, surely some of us who are not so much injured must yet be sent with them. Indeed it is to be hoped the Admiralty will see the thing in its true light, and order us all home except those ships that were not in the action, and which are sufficient for the number of the enemy now in the Mediterranean. The Spaniards we have sent to Algeciras to be exchanged for any men they may hereafter take of ours; but I apprehend, poor devils, they will never again run the risk of being so treated. I confess it is a melancholy thing to me to see so many other ships going home without me. ——, who is situated as I am, is doing his utmost, by all means in his power, to carry his point. I shall not, however, do anything of that sort, but, on the contrary, get my ship made as efficient as possible; which can readily be done, as our foremast is the only principal mast wounded, and we have spliced all the rigging which was cut by shot. I should like to see our admiral and learn his intentions, if possible; but we are all here without orders

Rivers, who had been midshipman and A. D. C. to Lord Nelson at Trafalgar; and by Joseph Brown, seaman of the 'Victory' at Trafalgar; both in Greenwich Hospital.

or instructions, and know not what he is about, or where he is pottering. I have told Hardy that, if he can do it, I wish him to deliver the letter he has himself, because I wish that you should know him: he said he would go anywhere a day's journey to see you. He is a bachelor, but fit to be a husband, by his amiability of temper and manner. But do not let me lead you to expect too much; he is a sailor after all; and *perhaps too good a one* to be *a 'lady's man.'*

November 5.

Not having lost our masts, 'Orion' is, I fear, destined to stay here for the present. Morris tells me that a transport is going directly and will take this. Although the headmost ships have done most and fared worst, be assured 'Orion' did the part allotted to her, and did it well, as Hardy, of 'Victory,' will inform you when he can see you. Had I lost my masts, as the 'Africa' did, in the gale after the action, I should, like her, have been ordered home.

November 8.

To-morrow a squadron of seven sail of these crippled ships leave hence for England, Hope and King being of the number, and also Oliver, who is appointed to the 'Mars,' instead of poor Duff, who was killed in the action; and only conceive young Parker having the luck to get the 'Melpomene.' Had I been aware of the sort of arrangement that has been made, I should probably have been also now on my way home; but when Admiral Collingwood asked me what condition 'Orion' was in, I told him, from pure zeal, that she was not so much hurt but that I could get her sufficiently refitted, out of one of the prizes ordered to be destroyed, to be ready for any service for which he might require her. The shot through our foremast is certainly not such an injury as to require more than a good fish (an additional piece of wood put up and down it for support), and the upper masts and yards shot away may be replaced here: but as she must be supplied with a considerable quantity of new rigging, and is very ill fitted, at present, for a foreign station throughout, it is probable she will not continue here many months longer. However, the charm of going home altogether, and directly after the action, is now broken; and I no longer feel quite so sore about it as I did. Admiral Collingwood is still at sea, and we still hear of his being daily expected in, as he says, to make the necessary arrangements: by which we are led to doubt if he is aware of the 'Victory,' 'Bellisle,' and 'Bellerophon' being already half-way home.

November 9.

We have a report here of Buonaparte gaining a victory over ten thousand Austrians. It is not much of a victory, but may still be of use to him in raising the spirits of his army. Had Lord Nelson been alive the news of our battle would have spread all over the Austrian and even French army like wildfire: but the sending it immediately to Naples did not occur to Lord Collingwood, and our right worthy, able, and honest port admiral here refused the governor one of the several gun brigs in the mole to carry his despatches for that purpose, so that a fortnight was lost, and Buonaparte gained his victory in the interim. I just now hear that Buonaparte has taken 40,000 Austrians; but perhaps there is no truth in any part of the report. I can hardly say how much I am yours, E. C.

November 10.

At length the arrival of Admiral Collingwood has settled my remaining here. I can hardly tell you how much I am relieved by Admiral C. telling me he sent word by the schooner which went with the first account that I was well: but perhaps it was only that I was not otherwise reported to him. We are now to get ready to accompany him (I fancy) to blockade Carthagena in a few days. I have desired Captain Bayntun to call on you when in town, as being a good sailor, good officer, a gentleman, and a friend of Admiral Montagu.

November 14.

I am getting ready as fast as possible to accompany the admiral up to Carthagena, but as our foremast is very badly wounded, and requires a great additional support, it will not be secured till to-morrow. 'Chifonne' arrived, and no letter: well, it can't be helped, and we must consider these as evils inseparable from a sea life. Let me therefore have the confidence, dearest Jane, in your taking as much care of yourself for my sake as you do of our children for all our sakes.

My French messmate, Capitaine Infernet, of 'L'Intrépide,' and his son go home with Harvey, in the 'Téméraire.' I have written to Bowen of the Transport Board, to get him his parole in the place where his admiral will be on the same terms, and do anything he can to assist him: and to you I commend him for the rest. I was prevented

saving for him anything but the things in which he came on board, besides his watches and some little money. Captain Hallowell, of the 'Tigre,' although not in the action of the 21st, has insisted upon sending him a trunk with two dozen shirts, stockings, a bed, and some cloth to make him a coat, and a draft for 100*l.* as an acknowledgment of the civility he met with from Gantheaume and his officers when their prisoner. At present, therefore, he is very well off: but for hereafter, as his wife and family are at Toulon, and he has nothing but his pay, at the age of fifty, after forty years' services, I wish you to supply any wants he may have to the amount of 100*l.* I shall give him your address that he may write to you whenever he is fixed; and the rest I leave to you. He is much like us in his open manner, is a good sailor, and, I have no doubt, a good officer: has more delicacy in his conduct, although perhaps, boisterous in his manner, than any Frenchman I have before met with: and endeavours to make himself agreable to all the ship. He fought most stoutly; and had I not had the advantage over him of position and a ready fire whilst he was engaged with others, we should not have escaped as well as we did.[1]

Letter to Mrs. C. continued.

I trust my letter by Hardy will reach you soon after the accounts of the victory, and I hope you will meet him in town. His relations, I believe, live in Dorsetshire; he is a man we all admire and esteem.

Tetuan Bay (Morocco): November 23.

We are this instant anchored, and restored to quietness, after having left Mazary Bay (only about five miles off), where we have been for water. Any new place always gratifies me, and I doubt if I have not more pleasure in

[1] Captain Infernet, of the 'Intrépide,' when prisoner on board the 'Orion,' while dilating on the successes of our navy, said, in reference to the recent battle of Admiral Sir Robert Calder with the fleet to which he (Infernet) had belonged, 'It is very well for you gentlemen that you can feel justified in finding fault with an admiral who, when in command of *fifteen* sail of the line fights a battle with *twenty*, because he only makes two of them prizes!'

Captain Infernet also told Captain Codrington that the 'Intrépide' being the worst ship in the French navy, and the 'Bucentaure' the finest; as the 'Intrépide' was to the 'Bucentaure,' so was the 'Bucentaure' to the 'Argonauta,' a fine Spanish two-decker, which having been taken (at Trafalgar) was sunk by order of Lord Collingwood, because she had lost her rudder.

seeing a country in a state of nature than in visiting some of those ancient cities whose present degradation serves only to heighten the contrast of their former splendour. Mazary is a little bay, which seems almost a continuation of a pretty valley, situated amongst a number of what may deserve to be called mountains, entirely covered with myrtles the smell of which is quite delicious, evergreen oaks, &c., &c.; they grow so thick in most parts that it is difficult to walk through them, and are about as high as one's shoulders; the tops of the hills seem by the verdure to be full as well clothed as the sides, but there are no large trees to be seen amongst them; there are some pretty groups of figs, &c., with vines running all over them, and the shrubs which are suffered to grow in the vale are much more luxuriant than those which are on the rocky sides of the hills. - The soil is very rich indeed, and, I am told, yields three crops a year, which is well proportioned to their style of farming; for these most enlightened of all God's creatures, use a plough which seems to be made merely of a few crooked sticks (one of which, indeed, is armed with iron), which is drawn by two small miserable oxen, being neither yoked nor harnessed, but having a cross piece of wood, in resemblance of a yoke, from the forehead of one to that of the other, and which rests on a bunch of reeds to prevent friction. However, as the beasts draw (or rather push) with their heads, this mode has the effect of keeping them in a handsome posture, and may, in reality, be more natural, and preferable to the old way of yoking in England. The natives hereabout are such thieves and so mischievous that we are obliged to have a Moorish guard, to prevent their stealing our casks; &c.; and the Moors say that all the mountaineers in the kingdom are the same; they live by fishing. It would seem very pretty in poetic description, that I was shooting partridges, woodcocks, snipes, rabbits, and hares among myrtles; and, but that woodcocks and snipes were all we found in any number to shoot, it is very true; and, really, the novelty of the thing, and the delightful scents which we met with in all directions, made the walk very agreeable; but I could not help thinking how much I should prefer, for a continuance, the *dreary brown of Bagshot Heath*, the *smoke of its peat*, and its *stinking bogs*. However, the river which runs down this vale has completed our ships with water, and the myrtle-bushes have supplied us with sixty dozen of brooms for sweeping the decks of 'Orion'; besides which her crew have had the opportunity of refreshing themselves with pomegranates, oranges, and fish in abundance; and therefore will I say no more against Mazary

Bay. Have I tired you, Dearest, with this long story, when I ought to have dwelt on the contents of your last letters? The truth is that I could wish much that you had seen this country for five minutes, and partaken with me of the pleasure my ramble over it afforded me, and I was, therefore, unwilling to pass it by, which I should probably have done had I not seized this opportunity of describing it. Moreover, your letters are sure not to go unnoticed, but to receive all the attention they merit from the pleasure they have afforded me.

November 27.

It is said that sailors earn their money like horses, and it is true in one point not usually taken into consideration; I mean that, like those poor animals, we know not where we are going but by the direction of whip or spur.

November 30.

By my stay here I am become intimate with a brother officer with whom I have long had a desire to be on that footing; which is Captain Hallowell of the 'Tigre,' with whom I hope, hereafter, to make you also acquainted. Somehow or other (which is better understood by women than men) I find that whenever I make a desirable acquaintance, see a new or extraordinary place or sight, or meet with any real gratification, my first wish is that you, my dearest Jane, should be a partaker of it. This wish, indeed, attends me on occasions suited only to the hardihood of my own sex; which may probably arise from the desire of repeating the gratification through my second self. But, as I have just said, you will account for this with more truth than I can, and I need only tell you (as I ever wish to do) the genuine feelings of my heart, in full confidence that they can never arise from any cause of which I need be ashamed. Indeed, I rather think that my inward satisfaction increases with the conviction of the real virtue of my attachment to you and my children: and the pride I have in such a feeling must ever be just and becoming until the conduct of my children discredit it; which can never take place as long as you live to instruct and protect them.

We are now, I hear, on our way to form the blockade of Carthagena; but some of us will probably go higher up, under Admiral Louis, who is coming here from Cadiz, leaving Sir J. Duckworth to guard that quarter: and as Hallowell and Stopford will be most likely continued with

Admiral L., I am praying to make one of their little squadron. In this case I shall not only serve on pleasanter terms, but be likely to see a greater variety of places, and consequently have more mental gratification.

December 3.

Old, however, as they are, I have dwelt on your letters, dear, with extreme pleasure, as you may suppose I shall ever do on the subject nearest my heart, yourself and your children. Your descriptions bring me into their presence. You must not think me the worse husband that I pass by (as it is possible I may do) the approaching day of our marriage, the foundation-stone of all I have thought happiness! The truth is, that days sometimes pass without my thinking what may be the day of the month, or being able to read, write, or abstract my thoughts (except momentarily) from the concerns of my professional duty. I have given a letter to Captain Bayntun, of the 'Leviathan,' to you. He is a gentleman, and an excellent officer, A NELSONIAN, and deserving all the civility you ladies can show him, in return for the hard service he has undergone at sea. I desire all those I like, to call on you. I fear I shall have few opportunities of writing from hence (off Carthagena); and, as the Spaniards will never come out again, and the French have but two sail of the line in the Mediterranean, we have not even a hope of anything to do. It delights us to hear of Sir R. Strachan's taking the four sail: there is now but one ship of that whole fleet left fit to go to sea: they may, however, fit two or three of those others which got to Cadiz, I dare say. Great and glorious as our victory is, I could almost give up the whole value of it for Nelson's life. In spite of Lady H. he was really a great man, and all who served under him must think so.

From Mrs. Codrington to Captain C.

Brighton: December 4, 1805.

I must now, my very dearest, endeavour to conquer the fairy vision of happiness that has misled me, and I fear may have occasioned you anxiety from my silence. Till this day I have never given up the dream, that realised, would have compensated me for all I have suffered on this most interesting subject. But your letter from Gibraltar, dated 15th, has quite crushed my hopes of seeing you, and informed me of another source of care in *another blockade*. Where shall I begin, or how collect my scattered thoughts

to send to you, since the great dates, to you of 21st, to me of the 6th November—the day I first heard of your glorious victory? From the latter date I have spent moments of heartfelt joy and exultation, and of the severest anxiety and misery; but to account for the latter at least I ought to give you some little outline of *how* the intelligence reached me, &c.

Mrs. C's. servant had come into the room and told her suddenly that 'there had been a grand action and Lord Nelson was dead!' To relieve her distress at this startling news, a friend who was with her contrived to obtain more distinct information, by applying to Colonel Savery, then in waiting on the Prince Regent, at Brighton.

The letter continues:—

After *to me* ages of misery, he returned a very kind note with all the particulars the prince had had: and all the officers named who had been wounded. Never did Heaven pour such balm into a distracted mind as this communication. For your glorious leader I grieve most sincerely; but for the safety and honour of my husband how can I picture to you my ecstasy and gratitude!! None but a wife—and one as zealous as I am for the *fame* of a husband, can experience the same sensations. Few have *as* strongly, and no being can enjoy them *more* than I do. But for John's stupidity, I should have been spared all that anguish; for the next morning brought me a letter from Lord Garlies, with the comforting confirmation of your safety. From that time I have scarcely had the pen out of my hand: so many letters of enquiry and congratulation! Some of them delighted me, for to tell you the truth *this same business has become my weak side*; and I might be *very soon blinded* by a little of the *spray of the white waves of Trafalgar*. You know I am one of the most ambitious women in the world, and will not, therefore, doubt that I feel all the proper pride and exultation of being one of the 'wives of Trafalgar.' After Lord G.'s letter I was contentedly waiting further accounts, when I was told that 'Orion' was not in the action. This annoyed me most particularly; but on second application to Lord G. he assured me you were—in Lord Nelson's division, and next to 'Ajax.' Letters still poured in upon me: no 'Euryalus' *would* arrive; it is quite impossible to describe the general anxiety about her; *at last*

she brought me the happy tidings of my good man that nothing can ever efface; your dear letter, partly before partly after the action, which has drawn tears from every eye that has seen it—so affectionate, so manly, so eloquently speaking to every feeling of a good heart! Have I not reason to be happy? and yet there are a few rebel wishes still hovering about my heart that I *can* scarcely suppress. Had you come home *but* for a month, just to kiss your two little dears, and bless them! This last sentence has *slipped* through my pen *quite unintentionally*. I will not admit a regret even for such a disappointment, when I have so much reason to be satisfied and grateful on the *two main points*, *credit* and *safety*. In short I am resolved to be happy as it is, *coûte qu'il coûte*. When I think of some people quarrelling about a straw it really makes me mad; and I am almost tempted to wish they had some cause, or such a separation as ours to teach them to love again; or, at least, to forbear. Your letter about the battle was so much hurried that, almost for the first time, I was dissatisfied with it. Pray, dear, tell me every little circumstance you can recollect. You do not know how very interesting every tittle in a letter is under such circumstances as yours. What a very fine sight it must have been from 'Orion,' the going between those ships as you describe them. I am very glad 'L'Intrépide' struck to '*Orion*,' and if I possibly can I shall be very civil to Capitaine Infernet; but I fear I may not have an opportunity of being *personally* so, as I shall probably remain here the whole winter. Barbarina left me this morning, and this has been my first evening alone; though less alone than any, as I have *fancied myself chatting with you, dearest, off Carthagena*. Heaven bless you.

December 5.

'Victory' is not yet arrived. While the memory of dear revered Nelson is cherished by a grateful people, surely that of his supporters, who bravely fought under him, ought never to be forgotten. He is to be buried in St. Paul's, directly under the *Cupola*, which will be his *monument*, and may at the same moment remind *thousands* of spectators of his merits and his loss; and animate, in a last look at London, the departing midshipman, lieutenant, captain and admiral to imitate his glorious example.

God bless you, dearest. I must to bed; and hope you are as much the better for my little chit-chat as I am. What blessings are pen and ink!

December 7.

How very dear and good you have been in sending me so many letters. I have this morning again received two: you give me a very interesting account of 'Orion's' performances on the 21st; and I am now quite satisfied with your description and little sketch of the position of yourself and neighbouring ships. I have studied it till I am quite at home with the dear little story. What charms me more than all is the very handsome, liberal, and cheerful manner in which you allow greater credit to those who, from position, &c., must have had greater difficulties. You had your share of danger, and *have* your well-earned *share of honour*. Everyone will believe that a brave man, who did the utmost that his station allowed, and did it *well*, and who so justly allows greater praise where circumstances called forth greater exertions and exposed to greater dangers, would, in a similar situation, have acquitted himself of his duties in an equally heroic style. But my 'Orion' has in her place satisfied all the anxious hearts that rest on her with the affections of father, mother, and WIFE. I believe I am the only one, am I not? But my quantum of grateful joy on this occasion might supply your list of bachelors with a proper common proportion for each wife, and yet leave you a *Captain's* share!

I quite long to see Captain Hardy: to know him I mean, and receive him like a hearty brother officer's wife. Why should you think it necessary to apologise to me for his being *only a sailor*. Can you find a straighter way to my heart than merely saying that? That he is a good one and friendly to you gives him at once the master-key. Were I *with* you I should be a little angry with your saying he is too good in his profession to be a *lady's man*. Do you not remember how I value the one race, and how much I look down on the other? But I cannot at *Brighton* think of scolding you at *Carthagena*; so it shall be *au revoir*.

His friend, Lord Garlies, advised Captain C. not to wish or try to get his ship sent home before her time was up; and Mrs. C. wrote on.

December 8, 1805.

I have nothing to say against Lord G.'s opinion and advice. I truly believe they are given for your credit and advantage, and that such would be given by every honest unbiassed mind that had your interest at heart.

You know that I have been a happy wife—you know not to what extent I am an ambitious one (not for myself), but that the husband I love and live for should surpass everyone in glory and honours. I look forward to the day, when years shall have given time and opportunity, that I shall have as much reason to be proud of you as any connection could of our late noble Nelson. I see you astonished at what you will call my *vivid imagination*—but why so? Have I not sufficient foundation for such hopes, brilliant and dazzling as they are? They are very dear to me, my good man, therefore do not, I entreat you, think of giving up your ship. As I *began* to say, without saying, that, having been so happy a wife, the sacrifice of your society, if it depended on me, would be a *trying* and an afflicting one; but I do not hesitate saying it would be most *cheerfully* made for any advantage to you in your professional career. I am sure I could make up my mind for a much more lengthened absence than I now expect, were I certain that at the expiration of the time I should receive you well, happy, honoured, and distinguished. Do not, my very dear, fancy that I do not anticipate your return as one of the most happy moments of my life; the one in which I shall give and receive most pleasure in my whole existence. God knows I *do* most *earnestly* wish it; but never shall any feeling of mine interfere with what is thought your best line of conduct. In short, I feel that I shall love and respect you the more for the sacrifice we are each making, and much the more for your increased estimation and distinction in the noble service you belong to.

December 9.

Let me interrupt myself here to say, thank God you are not in the Channel fleet or anywhere *hereabouts*. I quite rejoice you are *so far* off; it is quite impossible for me to describe the dreadful storm we have had; the sea is *mountains high*; you know the sort of sea I mean, when the waves roll very far apart (an immense depth between), 'curling their monstrous heads and hanging them,' and tossing and bursting in a thousand different ways before they dash up against and over the cliff. It is wonderfully fine, and I should enjoy it could I for a moment divest myself of the sad idea that at this very moment there are thousands of fellow-creatures, of Englishmen too, subject to all the fury of similar waves; and this dreadful thought turns all my admiration into horror. It is a comfort to me, quite indescribable, that you are within the Straits of Gibraltar. Thank

God! . . . . And now, as the violence of wind and rain have abated, I am going to cover myself with all sorts of wraps, and seek Miss Shirreff to go and look at the sea together.

4 o'clock.

We have been, dear, and the scene was *very fine*. The violence of the storm is now over, and there is a fine, dignified swell, with the sun peeping out beautifully from the clouds. It is altogether very lovely, and were you *with* me I should enjoy it very much; but, as you are on board ship, once more thank God you are at Carthagena.

From Mrs. Codrington to a friend in England.

Brighton: December 8, 1805.

I was truly thankful for your affectionate letter and the warm interest you take in an event that has gratified all the best feelings of my heart. It is great satisfaction to have had a dear connection in such a glorious action; but to receive the repeated testimonies I do that the 'Orion' signalised herself very much in the station allotted, and that her commander did everything a brave man and a good officer could do, is inexpressible happiness. Unfortunately for me, when Lord Collingwood enquired into the state of his ship, Captain C. from pure zeal, reported that he would contrive to repair her there sufficiently to undertake anything he wished, fancying she was wanted for some *immediate service*. He has in consequence been detained entirely, without his defects, &c., being repaired; and sent to the blockade of Carthagena. It is creditable to him, but very provoking to his friends that he should so lose the opportunity of coming home under circumstances so particularly interesting. How very much you would feel and like his letters, written with so much spirit; such a sense of justice and liberality towards others. The captain of the French ship 'L'Intrépide,' which struck to 'Orion,' after a good deal of hard fighting, was on board when he last wrote. I must tell you a circumstance which delighted me:—Captain Hallowell was one sent up the Mediterranean, and not in the action on the 21st; but, on his return, hearing that, with all his exertions, Captain C. could not save any of the poor man's clothes, &c., he immediately sent him a trunk with two dozen shirts, stockings, neckcloths, &c., cloth to make him coats, and a draft for 100*l*., as a recollection and acknowledgment of having been well treated when he was prisoner to Gantheaume. I think nothing of *Captain C's.*

having given him an order to the same amount, because he was his own conquered opponent; but *I do* think it *very fine* in a man not *even present* in the action. I mentioned the circumstance yesterday to your friend Lord Hutchinson, and he was doubly delighted, as Captain Hallowell is an intimate of his. God bless you.

Your affectionate J. C.

A few letters from Mrs. C. have been inserted in various parts of this memoir, as showing how true and deep was the sympathy between this happy husband and wife, and how admirably fitted was such a wife not only to enter into and foster the best feelings of her husband, and co-operate with him in every act of generous kindness, but also how (as in that of 23rd May 1806) the influence of the hightoned character he so much valued in her was used in soothing professional discouragement, sustaining professional zeal, and inciting to the acquisition of professional distinction.

J. B.

From Captain C. to Mrs. C.

December 7.

I have met with a great disappointment in not being of a squadron detached by Lord Collingwood in search of the Rochfort squadron, with, I think a very fair prospect of finding them. Upon my hinting it to him to-day, he told me that *he also* wished to have sent me, but that he had another job for me, which I should not dislike. Whenever the two ships coming from Gibraltar join, I am to have a little squadron under my orders, and to go a cruise after some frigates and privateers off Toulon. I should certainly have much preferred the other; but as certainly this is a very desirable thing, and very flattering to me in every respect. So far I shall pass through part of my time in a way very superior to blockading; and I must say, the admiral has seemed of late to be much pleased and satisfied with my conduct. God knows whether I shall ever get my other box by the 'Serpent' or not, since she is now sent after this said Rochfort squadron, and *may go with them* back to England. I anxiously wish, however, she may have that success as a recompense for the loss those followers of Lord Nelson have met with. Such a capture will lighten their hearts a little;

and I should think, 'though the best squadron out of France,' these Rochfort gentry will not stand long against such able opponents.

December 11.

I am now fairly on my cruise, with 'Endymion,' 'Melpomene' (Parker), and 'Weazle,' under my orders, and it is impossible to pick out a better speculation than that I am now sent on. 'Melpomene' sails extremely well, and Parker is all life, attention, and activity; and I am sure he will leave nothing undone to make the cruise a successful one. 'Endymion's' captain is sick, and the ship seems to sympathise with him both in *sailing* and *doing*. I give Parker the brig to examine into every creek and corner of the main, whilst I keep with the 'Endymion' out in the offing, so as to pass nothing and yet conceal our force from the shore; and if P. wants assistance he can easily command it by signal. I collect them again in the dusk near some place of expectation; and when the moon rises away goes P. He promises really to make a very excellent officer, and I hope he will yet have some fair opportunity of distinguishing himself before our time is out. We have got, however, to scour the coast from hence (off Barcelona) all the way to Leghorn, and are to cruise in the neighbourhood of Majorca until the 20th of January: and if we return without success I shall think myself a very unlucky commodore. Parker has the finest job in the world, looking into every little town on the coast; which I should like almost as much as taking prizes, did I not think it my duty to adopt the plan I have; and I am determined that my conduct throughout, whether we are successful or not, shall evince to Lord C. the propriety of his giving me such a command.

January 5, 1806.

What an uncertain life do we poor sailors lead! Just as I had taken a good look into Toulon, sent my account of the force there to the admiral, and proceeded on my cruise with fine weather, and our best chance immediately before us, than I got information (by an American it is true) that the Brest fleet were out, had taken the 'Polyphemus' and all her convoy, including three regiments from Gibraltar, and were coming up the Mediteranean. I therefore immediately made the best of my way towards the admiral, whose force must be very inferior to theirs; and hope I may succeed in joining him before any action takes place. I have rather a

difficult game to play; because, if the report be true, I am more likely to meet the French than our own fleet, on this side of Gibraltar; and, unless it blows strong the getting away from twenty-eight sail of the line after they have once seen us, may be somewhat precarious. However, I feel that I am strictly doing my duty, although at considerable risk to my own ship; and my justification will, I trust, follow, whatever consequence may happen. To-day we have been going nine, ten, and eleven miles an hour, and are now abreast of Minorca. The enemy would probably go on the other side of the island, as being nearest the Spanish shore, and the shortest way; but my risk will be in making Carthagena, the *rendezvous* given me by the admiral; and I must ascertain whether he is there or not before I proceed to Gibraltar.

January 17.

Shortly after writing the foregoing part of this I found myself in rather a trying situation. Our maintopmast was just reported to be *sprung* (cracked) badly; and the mainyard no longer trustworthy; and we were proceeding, of necessity, to shift the one and to get down the other in order to *fish* it (you must learn terms) when the look-out men at the mast-head announced *a squadron* of *men-of-war*. I ordered the 'Endymion' (who was still with me) to reconnoitre, and favour me in my plans, whilst I got my ship ready; and as they did not answer her private signal, I drew my conclusion that our chance of seeing a French prison was very great. However they, to my great joy, passed on to leeward of us, and must, I think, have been Russians. Gales of wind against us and but very light favourable winds succeeding, I have had a difficult and most anxious time of it ever since: and even now that we are not above a day's sail from Gibraltar, and the wind is little short of fair for our going there, it blows too hard for us to attempt to make sail, and we are driving back again to the eastward. By a vessel which I spoke last night I find our fleet is not at Gibraltar; and as the frigates I communicated with off Carthagena told me they were gone there, I conclude the admiral has mustered his whole force, and is now waiting off the mouth of the Gut to oppose the entrance of the enemy. If the wind should come fair for pushing through I will not stop at Gibraltar, (unless ordered by signal from Admiral Knight) although we begin to run short of provisions and water.

January 18.

At six in the evening of the 16th we were under all sail,

having even a skyscraper set, and by four the next morning we were obliged to be contented with storm-staysails only, so violent was the wind; and not being able to carry our square sails (although if moderate we should have fetched Gibraltar) we were driven back to our station of two days before. We are now again off Motril, and with a light breeze in our favour enjoying as fine a day as ever was; and *I* bitterly lamenting that I cannot stop at all the little places we pass *en amitié*, instead of inspiring terror in all beholders of our *Nelsonian* batteries.

Gibraltar: January 20.

After contending against the current, with the assistance of a very light breeze, all last night, I reached the anchorage in this Bay to-day at noon; where I find orders to complete with water and provisions, and rejoin the admiral off Cadiz immediately. I learn that on the 30th of last month the reported reverses of Buonaparte were not known in England, and I therefore fear may not be verified. If he succeeds we shall never have a peace again, and more taxes and more money will continue to be Mr. Pitt's order of the day. If these ministers and kings who think of wars and the loss of human lives with such calm indifference, were but to experience a little of the distresses which are so often suffered in our profession, it would be of infinite service to the cause of humanity. At length I find poor Sir R. Calder's trial is over; and, according to my opinion founded on the evidence detailed in the papers, it is one of the severest sentences I ever heard of. A trial by one's peers must generally be deemed a fair and just one; but I well remember that Captain M—— was only dismissed his ship when it was sworn positively that he never was in his station, or closely engaged with any ship of the enemy on the 1st of June, in defiance of the decisive signals and the not less imposing example of his admiral: and I can never forget that the same Admiralty who have so wantonly ruined the character of a Sir R. Calder have suffered a —— to escape with impunity! What may be the future consequences I know not; but every admiral must hereafter be expected to attack double the force an Admiralty may choose to give him; and woe to that man who, with nearly an equal force, suffers one of the enemy's ships to escape! . . . . .

But enough of this subject, which has made me sore; and I will dismiss it with a regret that a court-martial has been found who could, in any way, by their vote seem to sanction such proceedings.

February 6.

My arrival in the fleet off Cadiz to-day has given me your letter of the 30th October. Indeed, my dearest Jane, your own natural manner of describing yourself and your newly-furnished room, &c., has succeeded in giving me a most distinct *mental* view of you, and how anxiously has it made me wish I were beside you!

The time will yet come (I repeat), as I most confidently feel, when no ship, no sea-affairs will interrupt our quiet domestic pursuits; and though I cannot say I see such a prospect as near as I wish, I look forward to it with a most steady confidence. Let us then bear the delay with all the cheerfulness we can, and fully determine to make the most of the blessing whenever fortune again places this happiness in our power.

February 10.

It is really cruel that we should still be without any official communication of the promotions in consequence of our victory; and they appear to be letting it dwindle away into nothing. Our first lieutenants will not *now* receive this boon with the same zest they would have done if offered promptly, and as it were '*de bon cœur.*' But the most important news is, although coming merely as a report, that Mr. Pitt is dead.

February 12.

We have just heard that the news of Mr. Pitt's death is confirmed; and also that Sir J. Duckworth might have brought the French squadron to action, but declined it because only half of his ships could come up. After poor Sir R. Calder's fate, this reason, I doubt, will not be sufficient; and now-a-days we receive both our rewards and punishments at the instance of the patriotic fund, as it is called.

The fleet seems to be all dissatisfaction on account of the dull sameness of our proceedings, the want of that free intercourse encouraged by Lord Nelson, and the marked want of attention in the ministry, who seem to have forgotten us entirely. I should not be altogether surprised if Lord C. were to offer me the 'Ajax,' supposing no one is appointed to her from home; but I am fully prepared to say nay, and take my chance with 'Orion' as long as she keeps going; by which time I trust I may, with some grace, retire contented to my own *dear unambitious* HOME.

As I see no marks whatever, I fancy you did not look over the (article in the 'Edinburgh Review,' on) the *Examen*

d'Esclavage; which I lament, because that brutal publication has called forth from these gentlemen an investigation into the merits of the slave trade, and some reasoning on its merits and consequences, which I think well worthy the consideration of the planters. A new system must take place sooner or later in that part of the world; and I am fully convinced that it would be much better for it to originate with the most interested; and I think also, that they would find their advantage in anticipation, instead of waiting till the necessity of the case runs away with all the credit which might be due to the measure.

So then Mr. Pitt is really dead! As a politician I doubt his being any loss to the country; but I cannot help individually lamenting the loss of any person endowed with so much superiority as he possessed in other points, honourable to his native land. How much I lament not having ever heard his eloquence!

February 21.

I cannot go to bed, my ever dearest Jane, although quite worn out by the effect of your so highly interesting letters received to-day, without relieving my breast from some small part of the weight of thanks I owe you for all your anxieties and sufferings on my account! But indeed you have quite unmanned me; and I feel that I must, in duty to us both, put by my pen till I have slept myself into better order. Be ever as thou art, dear to me beyond the power of expression.

February 22.

I am glad you like sailors; it requires but to know them and make allowance for their sea education, to esteem and love them. Contrive to meet and cultivate Hardy, that chaste medium through which Lord Nelson's liberal and heroic sentiments were delivered to his fleet. I will enter more fully into and answer your dear letters whenever I can find time and quiet to do so; but at present it is impossible, and I can only beg you to rest contented with my remaining here, as I shall endeavour to do myself in compliment to the good opinion of Lord Collingwood, who, I am told, will on no account part with 'Orion' if he can help it.

February 22.

The idea of your sufferings, my dearest woman, pains me to the very soul; and you will have seen by my letters that my utmost endeavours could not possibly prevent it. Lord Collingwood makes as great personal sacrifice to the service as any of us; and I by no means assert that there should be

any material sacrifice of the service to the comfort of individuals. But, when his despatches went, he might have ascertained by signal as much as would have satisfied people as to the fate of each individual ship and her captain; but the truth is, he is not so considerate of people's feelings as he might be, in spite of the noble example of the man he has so beautifully eulogised; and which example I should have thought too evidently productive of good effect to be resistible. To compare times and circumstances, I should say that, before the late battle, the fleet were in the highest spirits, contented with their lot, and happy as the circumstances would possibly permit; nay, made doubly effective by the just attention to their wants and wishes, private as well as public; whereas, we are now harassed under a press of sail, without any cause whatever, debarred from all social intercourse, never allowed those opportunities of adjusting our sails and rigging to which Lord Nelson had accustomed us, and, in short, are hipped, dissatisfied, and indifferent to the service. Indeed, considering how little notice the Admiralty have taken of us (for they have not yet sent any official account of any one promotion), we are severely punished in our loss of Lord Nelson, by this action of which our country is so proud. The suffering has been ours, the joy has been confined to England; and, though I would not part with what is now gained, I doubt if I could be brought willingly to undergo the neglect and disappointment we have met with, in addition to all our anxiety, for whatever honours our countrymen may think due to us. My greatest reward would have been folding to my heart the wife and children to whom, I trust, my safety is a blessing, and the following to the grave the remains of the noble hero under whose incomparable arrangements we fought and conquered; and by such a procession, I am disposed to think, the service would have been highly benefited; whereas, by suffering a —— to become a pall-bearer, they insulted the corpse and blighted the honours they professed to raise to his memory! Here, however, shall his name be venerated with a sincerity which needs not the aid of a dazzling procession! and never shall the man of English heart and patriotic feeling pass this sacred spot, without saying to himself, 'Here died the noble Nelson!'

I have been dining quietly with poor Hallowell to-day, as the fleet were lying to; and I fear he has put me too much out of spirits to write further. He was one of Lord Nelson's chosen favourites; *the man who gave him the coffin made out of 'L'Orient's' mast*; and he cannot bear up against the dis-

appointment of being out of the action, and the loss of the commander whom he had so long loved! In trying to raise his spirits I have depressed my own; and I had better therefore sing my own *starling song* of Good-night and God bless you.

From Mrs. Codrington to Captain C.

January 9, 1806.

I am safely returned from our dear Nelson's funeral . . And now you will expect me to say a word of the awful scene: all the ceremonies and order of the procession, &c., you will see by the papers; and I shall only speak of it with reference to my opinions and feelings. I can fancy nothing but the scene of action you describe, more grand, more awful and more solemn. It was certainly as fine a national spectacle, keeping in mind the hero whose life it closed, as can possibly be seen. But how can I account for its having not had the *great* and powerful effect on my feelings which I expected? I thought, with everyone else, that it would be the most affecting scene; that I should see faintings and swoonings; and that I, who am not practised in those things, should not be far from it. It was magnificent; it was solemn and impressive to the utmost degree; and with every shade of feeling I have for you, your profession, and every dear little member of it, it was a thought most soothing and gratifying that all I saw was in honour of a Naval Hero; but I was not moved beyond *self-control*. The part that spoke to my heart most powerfully (and that I must acknowledge did touch me deeply) was when the sailors of the 'Victory' brought in Nelson's colours; and this I attribute to its being the only thing that was *Nelson*—the rest was so much the HERALD'S OFFICE. I do not mean to find fault with this, because it was a necessary pomp to satisfy the nation; but I mean only to account for not having wept bitterly and severely the whole time. Had it been a *quiet*, private funeral of his revered remains, I am sure I could not have supported it. Expectation and *heart* were also worn out in so many long hours of waiting. Now that it is over and *well* over, I must tell you that my *wish* to be present would not have conquered my other feelings had I not fancied *you* would *like* my having been there, though you could not yourself attend (which I have lamented every moment of this day), and in acquiescence with your desire, 'that our hearts should in every, the most trifling circumstance, beat in unison.' I know with what devotion you would have attended your most admired hero and example. Let it be

some comfort, however, to hear that his physicians say he had some complaint in the heart, from which he could not have been a long-lived man; nor could his country have long benefited by his services, from the state of his sight. Let us, therefore, not continue to lament a death so fine and well-timed for *himself*; but rather turn with hope and reanimating confidence to our future Nelsons, who, perhaps, want opportunity alone to equal him. Need I say that amongst these my fond enthusiasm sees *you*, my good man, not least worthy of inspiring that dear hope? Heaven grant your career as brilliant as his; and as prolonged and happy, as a grateful wife can wish to the best of husbands.

From Mrs. Codrington to Captain C.

January 17, 1806.

I have just received a letter from Mrs. Adair, enclosing one from Lieutenant Popham (who went out to join the fleet after the action), from Tetuan. She says: 'I send it because I think you will not be displeased at the zeal with which he expresses himself on the subject of the very able commander of the 'Orion;' and as you will not be likely to hear it from himself it is but right that his friends should give him all the merit, and you all the pleasure of knowing it, for which he deserves the thanks of his country.' From this I expected a very *high-flown* account of your performances; but it is far otherwise; a quiet unaffected narration, from hearsay, 'that "Orion" had been conspicuously engaged, fortunately not much hurt; that an excellent manœuvre of yours had immediately dismasted "L'Intrépide"; officers of the "Colossus" had thanked you for your timely assistance; you claimed no ship as having struck to "Orion," though you might, with more propriety than some who claim four or five.' All quite as you would wish.

February 23.

It is true, my very dearest, that the navy is a service that occasions many privations, exposes you to many hardships, and is the greatest enemy, *for a time*, to domestic comfort both to husband and wife; but you must also recollect how much both are occasionally rewarded for all their sufferings (as in our own instance); not all my anxieties, not all the *real misery* of suspense, would induce me, if it were in my power, to give up *your having been* at Trafalgar; nor would any consideration, I am sure, purchase with you your absence on that glorious day.

I am sure, dearest, that this little separation and all its attendant miseries '*well recollected*,' may be the means of

enjoying with increased satisfaction all the pleasures of our home. That that home may very long be the scene of our united enjoyment may Heaven grant!

Captain C. to Mrs. C.

February 23.

Even if I could find fair time to sit down and make out a regular account of what passed in the action, I assure you it would be no easy task; because every view one has in these cases is seen differently by others; and alas! jealousy makes mountains of these little molehills. When I heard —— talk of having taken both the 'Fougeux' and 'Redoubtable' and declare before a dozen of us, that he took the 'Bucentaure' singly, *quite a perfect* ship, and even repeat it after I asked him if she had not been raked and otherwise engaged by the 'Victory' for a long time, besides being engaged *en passant* by the 'Neptune,' another three-decker, to which he answered in the affirmative, I began to be so disgusted with the whole business as to become as mute and deaf to the subject as possible. But the fact is, that the 'Leviathan' also fired three broadsides into this said 'Bucentaure' before ——'s ship could bring a gun to bear on her. He, however, claims five, I hear, and I believe 'L'Intrépide' is one; and Lord C. told me a little while ago that he had actually reported to him that he took both the 'Bucentaure' and the 'Santissima Trinidada'!!! —— also, you will hear *took 'L'Aigle'*! but Lord C. is quite indignant at his presumption; because he himself saw her closely and singly engaged with the poor 'Bellerophon' very long before Captain —— could have been in action. You see, therefore, my dear, how much better it is to let others tell our story for us, after simply gratifying our nearest and most anxious friends in a few particulars which concern ourselves singly. Morris and the officers of the 'Colossus' will tell you that 'Orion' made the 'Swiftsure' strike her colours; but it is my duty to say, that I only gave the finishing blow to the opponent of a friend, who had then two others to occupy him. The moment I heard of *claims* I offered 'L'Intrépide' to any who would take the credit of her, disavowing all pretensions to her myself; but they would *none of them take my prisoners* from me, although having in all eleven hundred men on board I could have spared them some very willingly. Bayntun, however, who suffered much from 'L'Intrépide,' can give you the best account of her finale. The boasters, in this as in all such cases, will boast themselves into disrepute,

although they may get some sugarplums in the interim. These rewards will never excite my envy. My present reward is the conscientious discharge of all the duty I could seize to my share, not only on that day but during the whole time which succeeded. The merit I have in my own eyes (between ourselves) has no competition; for it is, *not* fighting, not hurrying into battle with a shadow; but reserving my strength for the substance—a lesson taught me by Lord Howe, and afterwards well exemplified to me by Sir Andrew Douglas.

You should not, by-the-bye, have made me the author of my own credit (by showing my letter to Lord H.); and I should be annoyed by it were I not confident that no one will ever be found to contradict it. I believe Hardy observed it, and I know Lord C. did; but he seems contented with showing approbation without more public mention, in my case, and so it must rest.[1]

February 24.

Although Lord A. Beauclerk has been here some time, I see little chance of my being ordered home by Lord C. There are four three-decked ships intended by him to go home with the four prizes, but when it is to take place nobody knows. Possibly Sir J. Duckworth having taken six sail and Admiral Louis with him to the West Indies, may cause this delay; and if those ships are included in the number he is to have here, I shall certainly be detained till they return; but why we are to keep such a fleet wearing out off this port, where there are but four sail of the line (according to Lord C.'s statement) to oppose us, God knows; perhaps it is to *keep us in practice* and *inure us to service!*

How exactly, my dear, have you hit off my employment on December 27; and oh how ample a recompense for my attention to you during your cruel illness, is your affectionate remembrance of it! But am I not amply rewarded by the very circumstance itself, adding its little possible to my already ample interest in everything which concerns your welfare? You were then helpless as a child, needing all a mother's nursing; and by my endeavour to suit myself to that character, I have acquired a mother's feeling for you in addition to that of a husband. And do I not stand in the stead of all the relations you have lost, in right of our union? 'Aye, indeed,' as poor little Jasper[2] would say, in innocent

[1] 'Orion' was one of the four ships omitted in Lord Collingwood's second despatches.

[2] Jasper Hall, a little orphan nephew of Mrs. Codrington's, who, through life, looked to *her* as a mother.

ignorance of the deficiency. We want only to be left to follow our own peaceable life to be as happy, dearest J., as mortals can be; and if there be a new Ministry formed of all the abilities of the country, as we hear, perhaps we may yet have a cessation of this horrid gloomy din of war.

February 27.

Whilst we were jogging along this morning, with a very stiff breeze and topgallant masts down (indeed, ours were on deck to be repaired), the admiral gained information of six vessels having got out of Cadiz, three of which were frigates, and that they were steering away west. Observing him wear and make all sail in such a strong wind, I got on the alert, and made sail a-head directly, just at the moment he was making the 'Tigre' and 'Unité's' signals to chase N.-W. Being very anxious to make a third, I still pushed on, and at length he made my signal to chase also. Our rendezvous is Cape St. Vincent, I believe; but as we have no other orders than the signal to go in chase of these vessels, the Lord knows from whence you may next hear of me. We all three sail well, and are going at this minute a very good *eleven miles an hour*. I confess I hope we may be led away at least to the Madeiras, whether we get sight of these vessels or not; because we shall pass our time in life and exertion, and by the period of our return our final destination will be settled. We cannot have a better commodore than Hallowell, and I had rather he were in the command of our little squadron than myself. C. Ogle's ship seems to sail extremely well, and his movements this morning were very animated.

Off Cape St. Vincent: February 28.

I don't know what instructions our excellent commodore had by signal, or what information he has got, not having myself communicated with him owing to the bad weather; but not having seen anything of the vessels we came in search of, I conclude his object is now to work back to the admiral.

March 2.

We are again in sight of the fleet; but as it blows very strong from the eastward, we shall not be fairly amongst them till night.

March 10.

Before we had quite reached the fleet, the admiral sent orders for 'Tigre' and 'Orion' to push on in further search of this little squadron, and we are now (March 14)

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cruising near the Canaries in the hope of meeting them; but, I confess, I begin to be somewhat doubtful of our success.

Although I have not finished my other letter, I have begun this fresh one for my observations on the various congratulations you have sent me. First comes to my hand Mrs. ——, canting just like herself; and to the sea I therefore consign her, without further ceremony. Lady Arden appears next, in an envelope to her son: 'A thousand times we give you joy; may the like good fortune ever attend you.' Enough, and I believe from the heart. T. D. observes, very truly, on my good fortune: for Captain S. Rowley, who entered the service about the time I did, and was a messmate of mine, has been incessantly at sea ever since, and yet never was in an action. Mrs. Montagu writes very kindly, but does not seem to recollect that, although Lord C. has written so beautiful an eulogium on Lord Nelson, he has forgotten his dear 'Victory' and his excellent Hardy, his plan of operations, and his liberal attention to those under his command. A. M.'s letters are kind and affectionate; and the latter contains too much praise for me to comment on it impartially. Next comes Miss ——. You fully know my opinion on the principal subject of her letter; which, like the principal part of her conduct, however apparently it may sometimes be guided into the turnpike-road of attention to others, very soon steals aside into the bye-lanes which lead towards self-consideration. Humph! here comes my aunt D. P., fresh from an enlivening tête-à-tête with her animated son, during the *relaxation* a hard frost has allowed him from the *duties of the chase*. And yet, clothed as she is in buckram, from her cap to the hem of her petticoat, and lined within with *humphs* and other monosyllables, that old woman has a better heart than some others who know how to put their hearts upon paper; and so, in remembrance of her kindness to us when children, I say, 'May God bless her!' Poor dear Mrs. —— breathes always the same exalted sentiments; and I ever lament that a woman of so much heart, and possessed of such maternal feelings, should not have had a finer field for their exertion. Infernet comes now, flourishing in with his great *Madame*. It is a most pitiable situation for a man at his time of life, if he really loves his home and his family! but he is a Frenchman, and has good spirits, and, when the warm weather comes, he will do very well. Our now continuing to blockade Cadiz with the whole fleet is ridiculous: for it is said in the admiral's public despatches, that, out of the ten sail which got into Cadiz, six are wrecks;

and yet, not having any single direction from the Admiralty, he does not know how to proceed. In the meantime we are carrying a great deal of sail backwards and forwards, and wearing the hearts out of both ships and ships' companies to no one evident purpose whatever.

March 2.

I am pleased with B.'s asking after Hardy from a wish, as I can see, to show him any civility in his power. There are few whom I would do more to serve, had I the power, than Hardy, short as has been my acquaintance with him. I know him well, however, through the admiration of those who so long served under Lord Nelson; and his pleasing manner of forwarding the service as Lord Nelson's organ, sealed at once that regard for him I had felt by anticipation. By attention to him would I prefer paying my respect to the memory of his friend, his patron, I may almost say his father, the great Lord Nelson! and the more so that the sacred right to which his situation in the action entitled him, and more particularly the noble conduct of the ever dear 'Victory,' even after the fatal wound received by our chief, became the portion of another. Had not Hardy been guided by an excess of delicacy, he might have procured Lord Nelson's signature to the accounts of the battle, and have made all those arrangements previously intended by his Lordship; and in return for this delicacy he is passed by unobserved, and consigned as it were to the tomb of his friend. I hardly know how I have been led into this subject, but it always excites me, and to you my feelings run from my pen as they arise in my bosom.

March 26.

Since closing my last we have had a good deal to do and some little anxiety about possibilities. A few days ago we fell in with above 150 sail of vessels composing a convoy, with only the protection of one of Lord Melville's teak wood frigates (which sails worse than the merchantmen), and the 'Squirrel' of 24 guns; with the further assistance of 'Dyrad' till they reach the trade winds. The day we joined I met Drummond on board the 'Tigre' at dinner. He was a very welcome guest as he brought us newspapers and the account of the complete change in Administration. The Admiralty arrangement is not very grateful to navy people, although headed by Mr. Grey. . . . . .
If my ship were ordered to be paid off in the summary way in which Lord St. V's. board used to practise these things, it would perhaps be the greatest favour they could do for me.

I confess I despair of ever getting 'Orion' refitted *now*, as she should be to be upon equal terms with her neighbours; and if she is to be worked out in her present condition, according to the system of rigour and economy, it will be best to look out for another in better plight at once. God knows my love of peace and *dear dear* home, very far exceeds my love of honour and glory; although I have a just estimation of those articles as accompaniments. This little ship, well manned and in sound condition, is perhaps as good for that *trade* as most in the service, although what is termed remarkably ticklish—that is, easily put out of trim, and so on. But under her many disadvantages I confess I should willingly change her for such a ship as the 'Milford' (a 74 about to be launched at Milford Haven). Even, however, if I were at home, and had more interest than ever I expect to have, there will be so many applicants for her of seniority and superior claims to me that I should not be able to get the appointment. It is best therefore to confine my wish to the thing I most desire; which is, that 'Orion' may be paid off, and the *Captain* again turned into the *Squire*. But I am so fagged, I must go to bed and make up for being all last night in chase of what we imagined to be a French squadron. We were at quarters from dusk till between three and four o'clock when we came up with two running ships from Glasgow, who told us that the other three we had seen in the evening chased them until they saw us, and were, as they judged, three French line-of-battle ships. We have looked for them all to-day without success, and I am inclined to think they are the frigates we came in search of. We are now steering into a fresh quarter, and may perchance get sight of them in the morning if we have any luck. (We find they were the 'Fame,' 'Polyphemus,' and 'Africa.')

We hear a large squadron of French ships are gone to the West Indies. Sir J. Duckworth will in that case stay there, and I suppose a reinforcement will be sent either from Cadiz or the Channel.

Madeira: April 4, 1806.

We arrived here yesterday evening, and are to sail again for Cadiz to-morrow evening. Graham Moore also came in here yesterday evening, having been blown out in the morning, which is very common at this place, because we, in fact, anchor upon the side of a sugar-loaf. I am going to dine with one of the merchants to-day, and to see all the (Good Friday) show of the morning; and to-morrow, if we stay, I am to dine with another merchant. God knows I would

prefer a long ride over the island, viewing the variety and beauty of the works of nature, to seeing a number of Englishmen eating and drinking. But there is hardly any choice in so short a stay here, and I must give my sanction to the order of the day. Madeira is certainly a very fine fertile island; producing at this season the common variety of vegetables and corn, besides the fruit in summer; but how very inferior, as a residence, is the *Valla* Famosa we dined at on Friday, belonging to Mr. Murdock; or the Paradise *that is to be*, where we dined yesterday. The former is adorned with beautiful magnolias, as well as various other rare trees very highly dressed into stiff formality; but notwithstanding the name given it by the Portuguese, this famous *valley* is *the side* of one of the hills, bounded on the left by a gulley the water has made in the rock, and on the right by solid stone, with vines growing in the interstices; nor is there a tree in the neighbourhood besides these garden plants. We had, however, a well set-out and excellent dinner in a delightfully cool room, and a gentlemanlike welcome after an extremely hot walk; and we *sailed* lightly down the hill again to our ship, having crammed ourselves with peas, beans, spinach, and other vegetables, of which we cleared all the dishes, and without having too much of the good wines which were put before us forced down our throats to convince us of our being welcome. I think Mr. Murdock one of the most gentlemanlike old men I have ever met with abroad in the character of an English merchant. Mr. Gordon, with whom we *all* dined yesterday (for it is the fashion of the place to take *all* your officers if you please, and *all* captains are thus asked as of course), described himself in his address to me at parting: "I am a man of plain manners and but few words, but I must assure you that it has given me sincere pleasure to have made your acquaintance; I shall be very happy to see you at Madeira again hereafter, and if you think of anything which I can do for you at any time, I shall have great satisfaction in obeying your wishes.' In addition to this I had a firm grasp of the hand, which I thought would have detained me all night.

Off Cadiz: April 15.

Since I added my last say to this letter, we learned the report, and afterwards, by a Portuguese seventy-four, the confirmation of Sir John Duckworth's victory; but such has been the weather since we rejoined Lord C. here on the 12th, that we have had no communication.

April 16.

The number of letters I got yesterday will astonish you.

From you, fourteen, besides enclosures. Those who have read the papers tell me that a flag of truce was sent by Buonaparte. Should peace, solid peace, follow this said flag of truce, how happy shall I be! But where shall I find heart for all the kindness there appears in reserve for me, and how will my head stand it? Alas! I sometimes think, willing as it is to receive impressions of friendship, it has not half the expansion due to so exalted an affection as yours is, dearest Jane, and nature will never yield up the portion she so justly claims for our dear children. In answer to the question you sometimes put to me, 'Did I do right?' I say, 'Yes, in all and everything.' Every part of your conduct is evidently dictated by an honest, upright heart; which is the best possible guide, and makes, in my opinion, a wise unerring head.

April 18.

I do really miss the luxury of observing the progress of our dear boys, which is, perhaps, the most bewitching that parents can enjoy. I can only see them as they were when I parted from them, nor is it possible for me to paint them before me otherwise. If I attempt to make Edward larger, he still toddles along in his little nankins; and, as to little Willy walking alone, for the life of me I cannot get his petticoats out of his way. Well I know how much you would prefer the character of 'sailor' to 'lady's man'; but I wished much that your desire to like Hardy should not lead you to expect too much beforehand.

April 21.

With respect to my continuing here, everyone will, as you say, think my being employed my best line of conduct; but let me say, there are few of them who would not think differently did they experience the various privations and disappointments we meet with. However, I trust I shall not do anything to justify or, indeed, produce disapprobation on the part of anybody whose opinion is worthy of attention. But when you give the reins to your vivid imagination, dear Jane, it positively runs away with you before you observe it. Consider for a moment how many men, much superior to me in every respect as officers, pass through a whole life of severe attention to duty, without any of the sort of applause which attracts public notice,—and you will not think my present good fortune so sure a forerunner of the very great distinction you anticipate. How were Sir Richard Bickerton's services treated by the dolts of the city? And were Sir R. to die of the illness those services have brought on him, who,

let me ask, out of the corps, would have known that there was any such man, but for the just encomium of the great man who set a high value on him as an officer? Indeed, my dear Jane, you are much too sanguine; and I warn you not to expect anything further, in any naval event in which I am concerned, than that I shall do my duty without discredit to you, and without leaving cause to my children to blush when they hear me spoken of at a future day.

I am very glad to find that you went to the funeral of Lord Nelson, and for the very reasons which impelled you. I have somehow received very little gratification from the newspaper accounts, and am indeed tired of reading them; and the description of your own feelings on the occasion is quite a relief to me, by convincing me that mine were not unnatural. Commission Hardy to procure you the best print of him which is to be had. By *best* you will understand the one he would himself prefer on account of its expression of the character; as to large or small, *n'importe*. How truly kind and friendly was Brown[1] in his attention to you on the occasion. He has about him the best characteristics of a sailor, and I will defy anyone to say he is otherwise than an honest, sincere friend.

April 22.

I have had a very pleasant party to dine with me to-day, being a court-martial day, and I hope as summer and calms come on we may be indulged in this way a little more frequently.

April 23.

Another court-martial to-day produced another dinner together on board 'Saturn,' and as we adjourned till to-morrow we hope to meet again, afterwards, on board 'Neptune.'

The news we have got to-day is that Prussia has done everything against us; that the Rochfort squadron are out; and, in short, that appearances are even worse than they have been; but, by way of balance to this, we understand that we are to have a million voted for the Trafalgar business; which if true will make a captain's share *above* 8,000*l*. (the new regulations will reduce it considerably). . . . . And it must be turned into land, my dear Jane, forthwith; lest Cobbett should be right, and we find ourselves penniless from depending on the funds. But *where?* is the next question, if not in realising the dream on which I have so long and fondly dwelt. Where else can

[1] Captain William Brown.

I go without the prospect of being overshadowed and elbowed by some domineering nabob? And where shall my children so readily imbibe a taste for liberty as in a country where every animal and every tree seems to delight in it? But it would be a subject of ridicule to a philosopher to hear one talk of liberty who submits to be tossed about in a wooden box without power to call on his next neighbour, though his particular friend; and I will therefore put by my pen and seek comfort on my pillow.

April 27.

We are now beating towards Gibraltar to get stores, provisions, &c., and are to rejoin Lord C. off Cadiz. The last week has passed away more pleasantly than usual, from our contriving to dine together every day after the court-martial; a necessary relaxation to follow a tedious investigation of the little discreditable quarrels amongst the officers of a brig. The investigation of the common civil causes which are detailed in the daily papers would be no bad amusement off Cadiz; but courts-martial, as being confined to criminal causes, and those generally of an aggravated nature, (because in more trifling points the captain takes the law into his own hands,) afford but a small portion of the agreeable to soften the predominating bitter.

From Mrs. Codrington to Captain C.

May 23, 1806.

How very provoking that Lord C. should have omitted mentioning you in his letter respecting the severe duties you so well performed *after* the action. However, he now seems doing his utmost to recompense you, and I sincerely hope it will gratify you.

I am particularly glad to hear that you are so highly and so justly estimated by your commander, and I must say that few things would annoy me more than your giving up a profession in which you are rising into well-deserved notice. I will not, with Lady ——, say that I should be sorry to have you at home; but notwithstanding all my privations and anxieties, I shall readily and cheerfully submit to a continuation of them, for your advantage in the service. I must not have your mind so affected by one or two instances of severity and unjust returns for the hard duties of your noble profession. Sir R. B. may not have been properly noticed and rewarded; and Sir R. C. has met with a harsh sentence at the close of a long life devoted to a hard and unpalatable service. Of the story of the former I

know nothing; the latter had, perhaps, passed the active animated period that produces the best commanders; perhaps never having had sufficient *dash*, and spirit, and presence of mind to make him a distinguished one. I cannot, for the life of me, anticipate this as your *possible* future style, and I cannot admit an idea that your judgment and conduct in battle can ever be called in question. Rather, my dearest, look forward to the fascinating *professional* model left you by your late commander. Who more justly and warmly appreciates and loves his honoured example than you do? And why should not *this* instance in the navy, with many others I could name, have AT LEAST as much effect on your mind as those two, where circumstances in some degree conspired to produce that result. If you knew how eagerly I hope for, and how ardently I love the idea of your being an ornament to your profession, a really great and popular character, how instantly would you catch some of my enthusiasm, and venerate the line of life that opens such a door to you.

From Captain C. to Mrs. C.

May 19.

Yet does this confounded convoy so take up my attention, that I shall hardly be able to go on writing. With the gunboats watching, and ready to pounce upon them the moment they discover a hope of success, it is wonderful that they should be so shamefully inattentive; and as they will not close near together for the general safety, and I have no other vessel to assist me, I should not be much surprised if one or two of them were to be taken.

Gibraltar is a very worrying place, because we do not get our proper supply of stores, paint, &c., and our men get drunk too easily; and I think I have been more annoyed this time than usual, from not having a proper first lieutenant;[1] but Beauclerk and I took a ride into Spain one day with one of the Governor's aides-de-camp, which was a real gratification to us, although it brought *home* too much into my mind to make me content to enjoy the scene in *their* society only. We went about fifteen miles into what is called the cork wood. It is really the New Forest upon a more grand scale, and more full of nightingales in every part than the wood at dear little Winchfield. In addition to the immense number of very fine cork-trees, we passed every here and there a large well-grown oak, which would do credit to any man's park in England; and we had to pick our way along the

[1] Mr. Croft, his good first lieutenant, had gone home.

little paths which are made by cattle, amongst the thick scrubby bushes which grow in all parts of this forest—just as one does in my favourite part of the world. But when we came to the grandest part of it, where are the remains of an old miserable convent, I was quite disgusted at seeing in what wretched sheds the poor people exist. Nothing have they, by way of a house, but a mere ill-made straw roof resting on the ground, into which they creep like so many pigs. Whilst I was musing, and thinking within myself that in this country with a few I love I could live contentedly for ever, and walking gently on to see for what purpose these places were made, I was so thunderstruck with the sight of children crawling out of them, that I would have preferred a turf hut upon Bagshot Heath to a palace in the beautiful country before me. Dear delightful England!—or rather, dear Liberty!—'which gives the flower of fleeting life its lustre and perfume,' and makes England the Paradise of the world! How I long to taste thy blessings!

May 25.

I have learned by the captain of an American brig-of-war that he heard at L'Orient that the Sound was stopped, which looks decisively hostile. He informs us also, that poor Villeneuve committed suicide at Rennes, that Lord Cochrane has taken another brig-of-war, and that Buonaparte ordered the captain and first lieutenant, who were both on shore, to be shot. I suppose *pour encourager les autres.*

How very very sick we all are of Cadiz, and how anxiously we all sigh for home! None, I believe, more than myself; although I say as little about it as possible.

June 1, 1806.

As I must be up at day-light to-morrow to shift a topmast and adjust our rigging, by way of a sea refit, I shall go to bed: in the recollection that, *this time twelve years*, I was thanking my stars I had escaped without injury after two days of severe action, which terminated gloriously for England, although since eclipsed in more than one instance. Now that I have so much more reason to be *jealous* of every hour of my life, since I am blessed by your sincere affection, I rejoice anew in the escape I then had; and although, feeling that every honour which may fall to my share will be reflected to you and the dear pledges of our love, dear Jane, I shall hail the future day of battle with the warmest welcome,—yet my fortune, in a safe return to my home, will be acknowledged with double gratitude!

June 3.

I have got the topmasts and rigging in 'apple-pie order' again, and am finishing the painting of the stern, masts, &c., in order to look quite smart for the summer. Poor Hallowell is panting for an action to make up for his ill-luck, and is quite out of spirits unless I go to row him up a little! He has, moreover, in the noble expansion of his heart, other things to impress his mind with sadness, notwithstanding his natural vivacity. The more I know, the more I love and esteem him. His sister, *to whom he* IS *a brother*, was married to the Chief Judge of Upper, and afterwards of Lower Canada, and is just left a widow with four children, and no other property than what was laid out in speculations in Canada, in the prospect of future benefit by long residence. The houses he built for himself as judge, in each of those situations, would be beneficial purchases for Government according to the recommendation of the Governor; but H. does not know how to get his sister's petition presented. In the meantime, he has desired her to take up her abode, children and all, with Mrs. H. at Eltham; and I believe, to enable him to keep them all, Mrs. H. must give up her carriage. You will feel with me a wish that you could do anything in this, and will also lament with me our want of interest. But I am telling you this story, notwithstanding, for more than one reason: first, because my mind is full of it; secondly, because I wish you to sympathise in my regard for H.; and thirdly, because, with your heart so tuned, and a head to act in unison with it, chance, or the little cherub (who must keep a very bad look-out if he does not do his duty on *this* occasion), may throw opportunity in your way. This will be a long story, I find, before it is done; but I am overloaded with it, and you must, as in duty bound, bear a part; and, to secure your interest (*being a woman*), I will next tell you a secret, premising (for what cause you will discover hereafter) that it is very difficult to do anything for H., so jealous is he of receiving a favour from anybody. By the way, I must tell you that I can read in his eye that, although he would, as he says, rather support his children by manual labour than receive a favour from any man whom he does not esteem, he would be as willing to pay me the compliment as anybody with whom he has so short an acquaintance. Now, but for this high sense of independence, much might be done in the case of his sister: for he has under his care several youngsters, whose friends can and would readily attend to his wishes. Amongst them is a son of

Lord Spencer—a nephew, I think, of Lord Buckinghamshire —and a very nice lad who (hush!) goes by the name of ——, and is a son of —— and ——, the latter of whom has told H. by letter that she would gladly do anything for him in her power, and that, if their party came into administration, her power would be great, and equal to the execution of any wish he might have. The lad is sensible of H.'s kindness, and, by a very pretty little letter and book he left on H.'s couch, on quitting the ship to go to England for the purpose of passing his examination, has a good and grateful heart. Have I not told you all, Dear? Should you by chance meet him anywhere, could you but get him introduced to you, to ask him *what sort of a man H. is, in consequence of my expressions of regard for him*, he would speak of him with a wish to show his gratitude; and a hint from you, and a visit to Mrs. H. to catch information about the sister, would enable him to show himself worthy of the care and kindness he has experienced from H. I dare not ask questions, for fear of his suspecting me, and I have actually forgotten his sister's name, although he did once mention it. And now, dear Jane, in the hope that your heart will experience the pleasure of realising what mine has prompted me to wish for my friend, I will bid you good-night.

E. C.

The manœuvre here suggested is I think about the most *roundabout* proceeding I ever heard of my father planning or undertaking; and all with the simple aim of serving a friend without hurting the delicacy and independence which he so admired in him! I wish I had been able to ascertain whether the plan ever succeeded. J. B.

June 4.

Our last, nay our two last cruises, will satisfy you of the little necessity there is for your being anxious about our fighting. Actions with ships of the line are very rare, and are seldom to be reckoned on beforehand. Trafalgar is the only instance of a fleet coming out purposely to fight, and is not an example likely to be followed; particularly since the assassination of Villeneuve.[1] Lord C. tries to persuade himself that they *may* come out of Cadiz again; but whatever he

[1] It was thus reported.

may do with himself, I do not think he appears to succeed in instilling such a belief into anybody else.

June 9.

Would to God your journey this summer were to meet me at Portsmouth, and the 'Orion' ordered to be paid off! But somehow or other I begin to fear my hopes even of being with you next winter will vanish, and be lost in the increasing difficulties of the war in this country! The number of ships of the line promised to Lord Collingwood was twenty-five; and although the want of them seems likely to increase, we have in all but eighteen, four of which are more requiring repair than this ship; and as to the boon held out, of all the ships which were in the action going home in turn in the course of the spring, it is all, I fear, a deception.

From Captain C. to Mrs. C.

June 13.

I am again detached, and on an errand for which I was a volunteer. I am going to carry General Fox to Sicily with all expedition, and make a short cruise back. I lament somehow going away from Hallowell, to whom I find myself more strongly bound every day. Oh, that he could take a Marengo, or any other rich prize after a little fighting. He wants the latter to make up for his ill-luck in not being present either on the 21st or with Sir J. D.; and the former to enable him to act up to the social generosity of his independent disposition. He has never asked a favour of any body, and is now working himself up to do so with difficulty, although for his sister; and I shall have great satisfaction in finding that my plan has relieved him by producing the offer. Indeed, I am sure, from the letters I have seen, that the opportunity will be seized with thanks to me and in gratitude towards him. Upon the 'Diana's' return to the fleet we received our medals; they are exactly similar to the others—well designed, but badly executed. They seemed to come in a most ungracious way from the Ministry, and were received by us in a most unwelcome manner, I must say. Our Admiral delivered them to us, however, in a pleasing strain, and it was only afterwards that we made our comments on the whole. *Mon ami Infernet* appears to have been better rewarded than any of us; and I suppose is as much a *Mi-lor* by his promotion as our second in command.

June 18. Gibraltar.

I was yesterday present at what I cannot but think a very curious scene, and what would be recorded as an extra-

ordinary event in the history of our present war with Spain. I mean a dinner (at the Spanish hour of 2 o'clock) given by General Fox to General Castanios (or whatever his name may be), the Governor of Algeziras. He has always kept everything upon the most friendly footing possible with the English since his first appointment to his government, and made and received visits to and from General O'Hara and the Duke of Kent as well as General Fox. He wrote a very complimentary letter to General F. on his appointment to the command in Sicily, and this was his farewell visit. Being placed on one side of him, I was obliged to muster up my awkward French, and enter into conversation with him, and, I must say, he had a more pleasant style of politeness and turn of conversation than most people I meet with, even of my own country. He is Spanish in appearance, but totally divested of all *hauteur* or formality; and his politeness is not mere *verbiage*, but is proved essentially to the whole of this garrison and to all English with whom he has opportunity of communication. He seems to read all public documents about England, and makes his remarks in a way which bespeaks interest and penetration, but also with good humour. I judge of this by his comments on Lord H. Petty's speech and Sir J. Craigg's parting order to his troops. On going away he shook hands with those he knew before, and also with me, telling me that, whatever I might wish for which Algeziras afforded he would send me with the greatest pleasure. It is hardly to be believed that this intercourse, which certainly deserves the name of friendly, should not interfere with the hostile operations to which this place is more particularly subject. Whilst the Governor of Algeziras (old Gibraltar) is dining with the Governor of the Rock (new Gibraltar), or whilst the Governor of the Rock, with one-half of the officers and many of the private soldiers is at a horse-race in Spain, the Algeziras gun-boats are making an attack on a convoy coming with supplies for the garrison. I was actually, when last here, standing with one of General Fox's aides-de-camp in the Spanish lines, observing the Spanish fire at the 'Beagle' sloop of war, which happened to come within range of their shot, with the same apparent indifference as would have attended me on seeing them attack a nation hostile to England.

At length it is determined that Mrs. Fox goes with us, and I am all in preparation to receive them; and in addition to Mrs. F. the two Miss F.'s (very pleasant young women), their two maids, the three aides-de-camp, and about six men servants, I am going also to take the wife of Captain Young

(one of the aides), and her three young children. It seems a good deal to do, but I should have been very much hurt indeed at seeing this poor woman left behind. But for this contrivance she would have been the only one belonging to the party left here to take her chance (without her husband) in one of the transports which may carry up the next reinforcement of troops.

June 26.

I have kept this open from my indescribable unwillingness to say 'good-bye;' and am fearful 'Serapis' will go without it if I delay longer.

July 4.

At sea. I find my party very much satisfied with 'Orion,' or, rather, very much pleased with the comforts of their apartments, and very sensible of my attention to them.

July 9.

Nothing but foul winds and calms, except one day, which has enabled us to reach the length of Algiers. We were near enough yesterday evening to see the shore to the westward of the town, but not the town itself; and it appears wonderful to me that there should be so many pretty-looking country houses in a neighbourhood cursed with such a Government. Even in my earlier days, when cruising in this part of the world, I have incessantly blessed my stars that I was born in England; and now that I am bound to my little independent home by so many endearing ties which at that time were only anticipated as at a great distance, England is become my Paradise. Alas, when shall I again enjoy the sight of it?—'the land that owns the sacred name of home?'

July 22.

Arrived at Messina. We anchored at Melazzo in our way, and I think the country, as well as the place itself, from the sea looked extremely well; but as General Fox did not wish to stay, we weighed again in an hour. Will it not surprise you to hear that General Meade is my messmate for the time I stay here, and that Acland and Bunbury are my guests to-day? The two latter were in the battle of Maida, of which you will hear before you get this; and poor Meade came just too late. Off the Faro we met with 'Apollo' and 'Hydra,' with Meade on board, who, with the two captains, came and dined; and Fellowes piloted us through the Faro to Messina. They were assisting at the siege of Scylla, and instead of being fired upon, we had the pleasure of seeing the walls which bore the tricoloured flag tumbling down at

every shot from our friends on shore. The being carried through this old-famed place, close to the shore, by a rapid current, with so grand a scene as the opposite side (Calabria) presents, is certainly very fine. Scylla Castle, which fronted us as we steered for the Faro, is upon a round, perpendicular rock of great height, projecting into the sea a great way, and very difficult of access from the other side. But the land within it rises so much above it, that if guns can be got there, it must fall. This, however, can only be done by much perseverance and labour from the sea-side, near the fortress; and the capture of Scylla is owing to the exertions of the seamen in getting some 24-pounders upon the heights. There is a large town running along the ridge of the hill, and another below the castle, upon the beach; and upon the tops of the mountains which form the distance rising one above another from the shore, I hear are towns and very fine plains. Reggio and the other towns along the Calabrian coast have very nearly the same appearance, and I am told by the army people that it is a very fine country indeed, although in many parts scarcely accessible. Calabria is nowhere better seen than from Messina, when the western sun is full upon it and just beginning to sink behind the Sicilian Mountains. The Marino of Messina (the road forming the beach, somewhat elevated above the water) presents the ruins of a handsome row of houses, entirely destroyed by the last great earthquake, which also washed away the Mole and deepened the harbour considerably. The other or sea side of this street is formed by the shipping, which are lashed to each other and to the shore, in seven or eight fathoms water, with their bowsprits almost on the land. There is one street in the town which deserves the name of handsome, but which one gives it very unwillingly, from the filthiness of the lower apartments and the monkey-like civility of all ages and sexes to each other's heads, which catch the eye in all directions. Ugh!—nasty devils! The only thing for which I like Messina is that ice is plenty and cheap there; but so little is my love towards it that I hope I shall never see it again.

I believe I must now tell you a little of the famous battle of Maida. Sir J. Stuart formed the expedition without any instructions from home, in consequence of information which turned out to be false in every particular, and under a promise from Sir S. Smith of a hearty co-operation on the part of the navy. When the time appointed came and everything was ready on the part of the army, Sir S. was gone away to Palermo. In the meantime the offer of Captain Fellowes, of the 'Apollo,' to undertake the naval part, was accepted, and the troops landed, when Sir S. S.

returned with a commission as Viceroy of Calabria, which was to be conquered for him by his superior officer. The army landed on July 1st at St. Euphemia Bay, and on the 3rd came in sight of General Regnier, who had hastened from Reggio to meet it. On the 4th the English marched to give him battle; but instead of 3,000, he having 7,000 to oppose their 4,800, besides near 400 cavalry, came down from his strong position to meet them on the plain, in confidence that he could (as he promised) annihilate them. The superior firmness of the English prevailed, the boasting enemy was confounded, beaten and pursued as far as our people (who cut away their knapsacks) could follow them. Had we had any cavalry, it is probable they would have finished the glorious business completely, and taken even Regnier himself. Sir S. viewed all this from the 'Apollo's' main-top. All England will, I trust, sympathise with the indignation of Sir J. Stuart and the army (indeed, I ought to add the navy also) that Sir J.'s aide-de-camp, with the particulars, was still yesterday in the 'Endymion,' off the Faro Point, without orders to proceed to England! Nor has Sir S. S. carried out another important point, namely, that whilst the army were acting against Regnier, he would show himself in the environs of Naples and Gaeta, the loss of which is thus only to be accounted for. Scylla would, however, have been taken as well without him, and he might certainly have saved Gaeta for a time, the importance of which is incalculable.

August 1.

We had a fine breeze all night, which has just cleared us of Sicily, and although the light wind we now have is against us, having got away from Mount Etna, we shall not be so subject to be detained by long calms. Etna would not smoke for us; so I have nothing to say about it. Acland is gone with some troops in transports towards Naples, but is not to have anything to do with Sir S. S., and is not to land unless he sees evident reason for so doing. The object is to encourage the Calabrians, who are killing the French daily in small numbers, and will exterminate probably all those who remain in their country, in revenge for the cruelties they have lately suffered themselves. It is most satisfactory to Sir J. Stuart to have gained this advantage over Regnier, who held him so cheap in Egypt, and who in his books treats the English army with such contempt. Acland behaved, I hear, conspicuously well—seizing the colours, and leading his men to the charge. Indeed, there seems to have been great promptitude on the part of all.

August 7.

We got to Malta on the 3rd, in the morning, and, at the earnest request of Sir A. Ball and General Villettes, I waited until yesterday morning for their despatches. No place scarcely can be better worth seeing than Malta, as a harbour, a fortification, and a town; but no place can be less desirable to live in: the island itself resembles the flat part of Gloucestershire above Dodington, without its few trees and its verdure, such as that verdure is, compared with the vales. In short, it is a mere Bath-stone quarry, and seems to produce nothing in luxuriance but the cotton plant, although it has certainly some very good fruit. The harbour (or rather harbours, for it has several within its entrance) and its strength of position, it received from nature, but the perfection and extent of fortifications and the magnificence of its buildings it owes to the wealth of the Order; and in this respect it is striking, beyond any place I have seen, excepting perhaps Genoa. But it will be little amusing to you to hear that St. John's is a very fine church, richly adorned, or that such is the grandeur of the palace that our dirty St. James's would not make fit offices for it, and I find that notwithstanding the satisfaction I had in *seeing* Malta, it is so merely a place to *see*, that I can give you no pleasure in describing it.

August 16.

Before I go to bed I must tell you that I have to-day had a very pleasant sail, which made me wish for you. We made the island of Minorca at four o'clock this morning, kept the Minorca shore close on board in passing betwixt it and Majorca, and have been ever since until now (eight o'clock) gratifying our curiosity on the wild mountainous northern side of the latter. Majorca is certainly worth seeing, from its multitude of stupendous pinnacles all along this side, with scarcely a bit of beach where there would be any apparent possibility of landing; but Minorca being lower, and to an English eye frightfully barren, in spite of its Spanish character for fertility, has no attraction whatever for me. Sorry indeed should I be to live in either; but I can fancy some little delightful vales amongst the rugged mountains of Majorca in which a man might pass his days in peace and contentment, were it not inconsistent with such a Government.

August 21.

We are now becalmed off Carthagena, after having had a blustering foul wind last night, and have no prospect of a speedy passage onwards. I do not see any of our frigates

hereabout, and shall therefore have to examine the state of the squadron myself whenever the wind will allow of my doing so, in order to carry the information to Lord Collingwood. It is curious that a single ship of the line should be suffered to pass and repass within a few miles of an enemy's fort without any molestation from a squadron of nine sail lying at a port close by; but the fact is that the Spaniards have no enmity against us, nor a wish to do more than protect their own coasting convoys. I believe I have not told you of my having two messmates for this cruise—the one the son of Admiral Sir J. Lewis, just promoted to post captain, *aged* about twenty; the other, Major Stewart, who was wounded at the head of the 78th Regiment, in the battle of Maida. He has a very severe wound, from a musket ball taking off a piece of the elbow, and passing down the middle of the arm into the wrist, from whence it was with difficulty *wrenched* out. He bears his pain with great patience and fortitude, and is gentlemanlike, sensible, and well informed *in broad Scotch*. I hope I shall take him on to England.

August 23.

We got a light East breeze at eight last night, which has gradually increased, so as to drive us along nearly nine knots an hour, and we are now 120 miles nearer to the Rock in consequence, and in full prospect of its carrying us all the way. We are within a few miles of the shore, and have seen all that the coast produces since daylight till now (two o'clock)—nothing but one eternal burnt-up brown the whole way; and I have lost the little beauties I saw here in January owing to the heat, which produces the same effect here as winter with us, destroying all vegetation.

Gibraltar, August 28.

I reached this place on the 25th, and I cannot describe to you my sufferings since, from not getting my letters to clear up the horrible report I have heard of your being ill! Am I never to see you again, dearest Jane, or am I destined to be the most miserable of all human beings? All I heard was that there were no letters for me, and that there was a report of your being ill, and that I was to go home in consequence; then came a note from the secretary of the Admiral merely to say that I am to change into the 'Thunderer,' if her captain consents, and go home in her directly; and no person whatever will allow that they know whence this cruel report originated, or whether you are alive or dead; and in the midst of my distraction I make out that old Mrs. Eliza-

beth Codrington is mentioned in the papers among the dead, and have therefore some ray of hope that the whole has arisen from this (to me) most indifferent event. But to have no letter, and to doubt and be kept in this heart-rending suspense by a westerly wind, which prevents me from joining the fleet where alone I am now to look for my letters, is enough to wear and distress minds less susceptible than mine!

Cadiz, September 3.

Disappointment follows disappointment! I joined the fleet yesterday, to learn that my letters were sent after me by 'Chiffonne,' whom I have twice seen and twice passed without communication. It is, however, much to learn, as I do from Hallowell, that there were amongst them two or three of your writing, and still more comfort to find that the report of *his* having said you were ill was quite without foundation. In short, had there never been any such report, I should not now be uneasy about the matter; although the history of my going home without 'Orion' is quite incomprehensible to me. All Lord C. tells me is, that Lord Howick in a letter says that 'as my letters will induce me to wish to return home, he will thank him to give me leave to do so as early as possible.' How many things may this say, without the further explanation my letters would afford me. If it regards an appointment to any other ship at home, I should prefer continuing in 'Orion,' bad as she is, even if the captain of the 'Thunderer' would change, which I think very unlikely. If it does really concern your health, what would I not do to get home to nurse, to comfort, and I trust to save you?

September 4.

Lord C. is trying to persuade us that Jerome Buonaparte is expected here; but we couple Lord St. V.'s visit to Lisbon, and the expectation of a great military force, with an attack on some Spanish possession in this part of the world, and I doubt not it will take place very shortly.

September 6.

——, I find, has got a yacht, and by his own request. Feeling it likely that people would make observations on it, he has asked the opinion of some of his friends. Hallowell told him he thought him very right in getting whatever he wanted whilst he had friends in power, but H., although from his services and rank entitled to anything, would not himself think of accepting such a thing *in war time*, and had —— hinted the business to me when we met last, I should

have told him plainly my opinion, that by taking such an appointment he would lose more credit than an annuity of 700*l.* would purchase. The yachts and colonelcies of Marines are almost the only legitimate rewards for old officers whose services give them superior claims. The first are seldom accepted by any who intend to serve again, except in time of peace, and until lately carried with them the stamp of merit, which still attends the appointment of the latter. Now I believe —— has only one example to produce, and that in a man whose claims must exceed his, and to whom the money was an important object; and will it not therefore be said of him, that he, with a good fortune, has taken a sinecure of 700*l.* a-year to which his services give him no pretension, in order to escape serving in time of war; thereby depriving some meritorious officer of a comfortable retirement, who may be feeding (or rather starving) his family upon his eight or ten shillings a-day? For myself, I say that I feel entitled to retire from the service whenever I think proper, and that, having done my duty, I have a right to the thanks of my country for the years I have already devoted to it; but being neither disabled, worn out, nor honoured with the peculiar approbation of the corps, I should forfeit all claim to the respect of my brother officers if I were to accept a preference in the rewards to which the most deserving only ought to look forward. Lord Nelson said 'Marks of honour and distinction bestowed on those who have fairly earned them do credit both to the donor and receiver.' And does not this truth show that to all others they are a discredit? Another vessel came yesterday from Lisbon, and brought letters for several others, but not for me! I am sick at heart, and sick of everything around me!

September 13.

I received your letters which came out by 'Active' and 'Chiffonne,' just too late to tell you so by 'Seahorse,' but I hope the little line I sent by Captain Stewart will have that information added to it by him. That I am relieved, *considerably* relieved, by these letters (old as they are) is very true; but I cannot shake off the uneasiness which has taken such hold of me, and I think I shall not easily incline to venture on another separation, if ever I find myself at home again. In my anxiety I wrote a hurried line to beg —— would get me home if possible, which perhaps I should not have done if I had then got your letters. Let me now say, however, that I cannot reconcile to my mind the changing from 'Orion' into any other ship in order to get home,

myself, leaving the many who have embarked under my care to take their chance with another captain, who may not feel the smallest interest in their welfare. An Admiralty man saying *we* do not point out the ships to come home, is a trick of office, I am sorry to say, similar to that of being told that we who stay out get more credit than those who return home—meaning by *credit*, I suppose, the most injurious and unpardonable neglect. All the men belonging to those ships which went home (whether with credit or not) get their ten days' leave of absence, and the first lieutenant and one midshipman got their promotion directly. Our first lieutenants, however, *with all the credit for staying out*, had no other return than delaying their promotion by five months, and finding all the sloops of war here filled up by commanders from England who were not in the action: and the men, instead of the common indulgence granted to the others, are to wear out in battered ships until the action is forgotten, without any news of their prize-money whatever! Indeed, I am heartily sick of it. With Lord Nelson, I fear, the Navy lost not only their best, their dearest, but their *only* friend!

September 24.

Lord Howick's opinion so expressed of me is very flattering, but I would rather have heard that he had requested Lord C. to send the 'Orion' home.

Sir J. Duckworth is daily expected, we are told, but he is, according to report, only to bring with him four sail; and the squadron with Sir J. Louis, which we have so long been in expectation of seeing, is now cruising in the Bay of Biscay, under the orders of Lord St. V., without any of the troops and generals which we understood were positively embarked long ago.

September 28.

This day, this most welcome day, have I received several letters from you, dearest, the last of which is dated August 23; and after all the anxiety I have felt on your account, you may judge of the pleasure I have in the full assurance of the health of you and your dear boys so little time ago.

October 2.

Hallowell has learned, by a vessel he spoke with to-day, that Sir A. Cochrane has taken four sail out of the squadron, from which little Jerome, I conclude of course, ran away. This is a very agreeable bit of news in return for the escape of Jerome from the 'Gibraltar.' It is remarkable that

severe illiberalities almost always proceed from those who have suffered scarcely any privations themselves, although I believe there is no class of England's sons who undergo so many, and submit to them so patiently, as the Navy, without relaxing in an honourable attention to their duty. Would my prayers prevail, I would say, 'Give us back our Nelson, and you are welcome to all the honour and all the advantage of the battle of Trafalgar!' It is time, however, to close this, and bid you another *good-bye!* Alas! when will this melancholy office cease? In refusing to go home in the 'Thunderer,' I have made a sacrifice to propriety and, even in my view of the matter, to honour; but I trust it will not be long before I have the just reward of going home in 'Orion.' As to Lord C., I believe he has no intention whatever of going home.

October 10.

I this day learned by a ship I was sent to examine (an American) that Fox died on the 14th September. So often reported and so long expected, it does not come upon us by surprise; respecting his character as I did some time ago, I could wish he had died a little sooner, but as you may still retain some of your enthusiastic admiration of him, I will not give my opinion of his conduct after putting on the ministerial trammels. In the 'Edinburgh Review' you last sent me (XV.) you have not indulged me with many marks: but I was delighted to see a large mark opposite an extract from Miss Edgeworth's 'Leonora:'—'I have observed that the ladies who wish to be men are usually those who have not sufficient strength of mind to be women.' Miss E. is certainly very severe in these extracts, but I cannot help giving my sanction to the justice of her sentiments.

October 13.

We hear that poor Sir Samuel Hood has lost his arm in taking some frigates. His arm is worth a frigate to his country, and I most earnestly hope he will get well over it. Nelson, however, was with the loss of his arm worth all the other commanders-in-chief we have; and his friend Hood may yet live to tread in his footsteps. A sailor should have no connections out of his ship: his ship should be his wife, his friend, and his hobby-horse. It *is* so, *nearly*, betwixt the ages of twenty and thirty; but the mind of a poor devil like me, who cannot dispossess himself of certain hankerings after home, meets with as much tossing and tumbling as a ship does in a gale of wind; and will not this tacking and wearing, this luffing up and bearing away, this carrying all sail backwards and forwards in chase of the wind, to which

the mind is as subject as the ship, make it necessary for the one to go into dock as well as the other? So convinced am I of this that, had I the power, I would administer relaxation on the principle of advantage to the service. In truth, I think it as necessary to the mind after long-continued anxiety as a vegetable diet is to the body after living upon salt beef. Good-night, my dear Jane! When will my good-night be by word of mouth, and not require the medium of a letter?

October 21, 1806.

On getting up this morning it was impossible to avoid comparing it with the morning of last year. With what noble enthusiasm did we prepare for the battle, and with what a sincere desire did my heart pant for the opportunity of meriting the approbation of that revered chief, who seemed, in my eyes at least, when at the head of his fleet, to soar above the rest of mankind.

. . . . . .

This morning I dreaded the being invited to celebrate the day by dining on board the ———, and was pleased with my escape, although I should have met Sir J. Duckworth and Blackwood, and have heard all the news they had to tell. Sir J. Duckworth is gone on to Gibraltar, and as Admiral Purvis is there also, there is no chance of anything going home before an easterly wind brings some of them out, or Sir Thomas Louis arrives with his *four* sail, to which our expectations are now dwindled. And so again good-night, and God bless you, dearest; and your husband will try if he cannot pass a more peaceful night than he did a year ago.

In a conversation with an old friend (on 5th December 1835), Sir E. C. was describing the personal agility of Lord Exmouth, who, when a captain, would defy any man in his ship to a race to the mast-head and down again, *giving* him to the main top. He went on to say he was remarkable for that gift of ready resource and wonderful personal activity 'which we look for in what we call a good seaman;' but he was not born to command a fleet. Lord Nelson, on the contrary, was no seaman; even in the earlier stages of the profession his genius had soared higher, and all his energies were turned to becoming a great commander. He had probably been always occupied in planning manœuvres and modes of attack with a fleet,—while it is equally

probable that at the time Lord Exmouth was appointed to a command, the subject of the management of a fleet had never engaged his attention. Lord Exmouth was not liked by his fleet, and Lord Nelson was adored by *his*; he never met with a distressed sailor without assisting him with his purse, or attention, or advice; nor did he ever neglect to encourage merit; he was easy of access, and his manner was particularly agreeable and kind. No man was ever afraid of displeasing him, but everybody was afraid of not *pleasing* him.

Letter to Mrs. C. continued.

Off Cadiz, October 24.

Yesterday arrived Sir Thomas Louis; but his already reduced number to four sail has again dwindled to his own 'Canopus' and the 'Repulse,' with the 'Kingfisher' sloop, and his arrival has not improved my prospect in the least as to going home. Admiral Louis's arrival is so far advantageous that he is an old Nelsonian, hospitable and kind to those he commands; and Legge is a very good fellow, as well as a very pleasant one.

October 27.

For these last three days and nights it has blown a hard gale of wind from the S.E., and we have, *of course*, been driven so far off our station, in spite of the heavy press of sail we have carried night and day, that, if the French were disposed to go, I conclude they are gone. It is now more moderate, and we may perhaps get near enough to take a peep at Cadiz to-morrow; but what will be the consequences if they should be gone, I know not, unless it is that some of us will have a trip after them to the West Indies or Buenos Ayres, or somewhere that way. I can only say that I should much prefer passing my time that way with either Sir J. Louis or Sir J. Duckworth to anything else (except going home). On Saturday night, or rather Sunday morning, at 2 o'clock, just before and while in the act of wearing, we split our trysail, mizen-topsail, main-staysail, and fore-topsail, and our main-topsail was blown to pieces, quite out of the bolt-rope; but we lost no *stick*, nor had we anybody hurt: there is a nice *sea-dish* for you.

I cannot go to bed without telling you that I have received eight of your letters to-day, and my eyes dwell on the whole heap as a most luxurious specimen of your attentive and anxious affection.

October 29.

In answer to a question from me, Lord C. says he is not authorised to send any line-of-battle ship home, but will send 'Orion' the first.

November 2.

I have had the Admiral's carpenter on board to examine the ship, and his report to Lord C. is such that I *think* we shall accompany the next convoy.

November 5.

I don't know how far *your* love of the phantom glory may carry *you*, but I must own *mine* has been so ill requited of late that it wears away apace. When in your warmth of zeal, and in your prejudice in my favour, you look forward to my imitating the great example I had before me, you are very wild indeed! Putting his great abilities, his unremitting attention and employment in the Service, and the much greater experience he had had long before he was my age, quite out of the question, recollect honour, glory, and distinction were the whole objects of his life, and that *dear domestic happiness*—my only boon—never abstracted his attention. He had not, or however did not acknowledge any *incumbrances* such as I have. The rule he inculcated was that every man became a bachelor after he passed the Rock of Gibraltar; and he was not very tardy in showing that he practised what he preached. I mistake if you would wish me to be a *Nelson* on such terms; and I assure you I value my own happiness too much to be indifferent about my home, even if your enthusiasm could carry you to such an admission. Do not, however, suppose I mean to say that to possess his virtues one must adopt his errors; but I seriously think, that, to follow the profession to its height, one's mind ought to be devoted to it exclusively, which with me is, I find, absolutely impossible; nor, indeed, have I strength enough to stand it for years together without relaxation, according to the present system. Whilst I am at it I will do it with credit to myself, and leave it in no man's power to sully my reputation justly; nor will I accept any of the few good things the Service has at its disposal to which others can lay a better claim, and of which they might be envious.

November 10.

'The Queen' and 'Royal George' have rejoined from Gibraltar; and I took the opportunity to-day offered of asking Lord C. if he had made any arrangement about the 'Orion,' in consequence of the report made of her condition by the

carpenters he sent to survey her at my request. He offered some of his professions of good intention, but finished by saying he should send her to England whenever he thought it best for the Service to do so.

. . . . . .

'You never told me your ship was in such bad condition before.' 'Because, my lord, whenever I touched upon the subject, you showed a suspicion of my veracity; and my heart disdaining the imputation, I told you the ship should speak for herself.' A little while after he said he had more complaints from the 'Orion' than from any other ship, in his petulant manner. 'Does your lordship mean to say I have done more than my duty in reporting my want of sails to follow the enemy if he came out, or the sickliness of my ship's company for want of vegetable diet?' 'No; I do not mean to say it was.' He declared he did not know of many things I have told him of several times. . . . .

The ships at Cadiz have moved high up the harbour, and, according to report made by Blackwood, who reconnoitred them yesterday, appear to be laid up for the winter; this, and the probability of Buonaparte getting hold of the Turkish ships at Constantinople, will, I think, oblige Lord C. to move from hence up the Mediterranean with three or four out of the nine sail we have here. He can't take us, and it will be the height of luxury to be left either with Sir J. Duckworth or Admiral Purvis after serving with him.

October 13.

Cannot you judge of my surprise on receiving a very polite letter from Lord C. on the morning after the above conversation, telling me he meant the 'Orion' to go to England that evening, and as the convoy were not come out she was to go alone? I could not allow myself to believe it until I positively got my orders; and just at dark, when I had done sending away stores and provisions, a nice breeze enabled me to make all sail for the fleet. Such was my anxiety to be out of reach of his signals on the next morning that I *forced* the ship all night at the rate of nine miles an hour against a very heavy head sea, which made her labour more than she has ever yet done since I have commanded her; and since this head sea has gone down we have made a most astonishing progress, and have the pleasing prospect of the breeze holding. We shall have gone about two hundred and forty miles in a direct line in these last twenty-four hours, which brings us to noon, and have already passed the most doubtful half of our voyage. And thus having told you my joy, I have told you everything your heart desires to hear.

November 19—Noon.

All well off Hurst Castle. I cannot tell where you are, and shall send this to the care of Admiral Montagu, who probably knows. I cannot describe my anxiety to hear of your safety—to see you—and to fold you in my arms.

From this time Captain Codrington remained in his happy home for some time. His third son was born in October, 1808; as the number of his family had increased, he had diminished the number of his horses, and given up hunting. He had left the country, and gone to live in London, where he entered much into society.

Music, and the théatre in the days of the Kembles, Siddons, Young, Kean, &c., were pleasures which he and his wife enjoyed together very heartily, and this was a very happy portion of his life.

In November, 1808, this was again broken into by his appointment to H.M.S. 'Blake,' a fine new 74 gun ship, for service in the North Sea, under Admiral Sir Richard Strachan. He commanded this ship for five years, and it was her first and only commission; for, on being paid off at the end of that time, she was found to be rendered unserviceable by dry rot.

CHAPTER III.

Captain Codrington to Mrs. C.

'Blake,' Sheerness: December 11, 1808.

I am so annoyed by the affair in Spain I can hardly think of anything else. Are we to suffer the remainder of General Blake's brave army to be cut to pieces, and merely save our own skins without a struggle? Ministers seem all along to have merely obeyed the will of the people, and not their own hearts, in assisting Spain. There is a mode of obtaining the character of a great man in the present state of England, which ill accords with my disposition; and whenever I see well-masked vice, supported by effrontery, bearing all before it and imposing upon the world, whilst unassuming merit stands abashed and unprotected, I feel that sort of discontent which ends in depression and disgust. I have no particular character or event in my mind's eye just now but this Spanish news; and I fear we shall basely desert their cause, in fear of their success leading to a reform here, in my opinion absolutely necessary to the proper salvation of the country. I am more disposed to dwell on painful than pleasurable subjects. You will say banish it by an effort! But if all were to banish such reflection in this much-prized country, we should at once be reduced to mere gay volatile Frenchmen, and increase the woes of the earth. This letter will hardly be welcome to you, but you must take my whole mind as you have my whole heart.

'Blake': December 21, 1808.

We are somewhere about five miles below the Nore at anchor for the night; and although in a wild-looking place, and it is snowing fast and blowing hard, we are quite in smooth water and riding securely. Being here solo and not overburdened with comforts, I cannot but regret leaving the

hospitable friendly mansion of my friend Brown (at Sheerness), and his worthy family, who have done everything to make me feel at home. But under this disadvantage I have the one solitary pleasure of being able to give myself more entirely to you for this little imaginary good-night; and I feel it really an enjoyment the being able to let my heart dwell on its full sense of gratitude for all your affectionate anxiety and exertion.

*Extract from Ralfe's Naval Biography.**

The operations of the year 1809 were active, and every way important to the interests of England. The preceding year had brought forth a spirit of resistance in Spain to the dominating power of France, which presaged the most brilliant results. The electric spark was communicated to the people of Germany, and the Emperor of Austria again declared war against France. The latter power, however, met every emergency with the utmost fortitude; and the greatest exertions were observed in all her ports in fitting out armaments for the invasion or annoyance of England. Her force in the Scheldt was daily becoming more formidable, and became an object of the greatest attention to the British Government. To destroy these formidable preparations, and in the hopes of preventing the Emperor of France from reinforcing his armies in Spain and Germany, it was resolved to send an expedition thither, to attempt the destruction not only of the enemy's fleet, but also of the naval arsenals at Antwerp, Flushing, and Terneuse, and rendering, if possible, the Scheldt no longer navigable for ships of war. The result, however, proved that it was ill-advised, ill-planned, and ill-timed; and that the attainment of the whole of the objects was, from the first, almost impracticable. The expedition was, however, fitted out on a large scale, and consisted of 35 sail of the line (25 of which had their lower guns out to carry troops), 2 ships of 50 guns, 21 frigates, 33 sloops, 5 bomb vessels, 23 gun brigs (5 carrying mortars), 17 hired cutters, 14 revenue vessels, 5 tenders, 82 gunboats, and upwards of 30,000 troops. The latter were under the command of the Earl of Chatham, and the fleet under the orders of Sir Richard Strachan. It was the strongest armament that ever sailed from the shores of Britain, and the expectations of the people rose in proportion to its magnitude.

* *Memoir of Admiral Sir Richard Strachan*, vol. ii. p. 462.

'Blake,' Portsmouth: January 23, 1809.

How naturally, my dearest Jane, in all cases of adversity, public as well as private, does my mind fly to you, from the impression that in domestic life alone can one look for comfort in distress. The loss of Sir John Moore, &c., with so many of his brave army, ought to seal the death-warrant of half the ministry, and until some such proceeding shall follow disasters of this sort, we shall continue to be sold to the time-serving follies of our rulers. The French have felt, I trust, the severe effects of putting the courage of an English army to the trial; and thus far some good will arise out of this melancholy event.*

At night: January 23.

Soon after we had dined to-day, Gosselin came to tell M. of his arrival with the troops from Corunna; and I went over to the 'George' directly to bring Graham over to tell us the sad news, and General Hope and Colonel Murray accompanied him. You would have been delighted with all three, as well as Bathurst whom you know; and I will, as nearly as I can, give you the short account we had from Graham of Sir John Moore's death. A cannon shot struck him on the left breast, broke his ribs and forced them into his lungs, and tore away his arm almost to the upper skin. He fell at the feet of Graham's horse; and when G. picked him up he seemed unable to speak, and unlikely ever to speak again. G. rode for a surgeon, and to tell General Hope, and did not see him again until nearly his last. He lived about an hour and a half, suffering a great deal but never altering his countenance, frequently asking about the battle, and sending messages to his friends in England. He said he feared he was too strong, and should linger still for a great while; expressed a wish to be buried in the field of battle (which he was by his aides-de-camp), and said to Colonel Anderson, 'You know I always wished for such a death as this,' &c. And after a continued conversation of this sort, which passed without any alteration of countenance from the pain he suffered, and sending his messages to others, he went on, 'Say to my mother ——' and expired! He died as he lived, a hero.

Lord Paget in a charge did not draw his sword, and when reminded, said coolly, he had other things to do besides taking care of himself. And when cut at he was saved by his orderly-man. All behaved well. In short, the French were beaten at all points, and lost their artillery and about

* Battle of Corunna, Jan. 16, 1809.

1,500 men, when we lost only about 700—except stragglers and such like—during the march. We have, however, suffered much in officers. This, however, is a very different account from what I wrote you to-day; and Graham says that as E. Paget had nearly got into the rear of the French, two hours' more daylight would have destroyed their whole army. Even two days after, they could not bring more than two field-pieces to attack our ships in Corunna, and a general brought home as prisoner, says that out of one corps of 2,000 they left 900 on the road. Therefore they are likely to respect us hereafter, and not to boast about *kicking the English into the sea.* The worst for this cause of Spain is, that there is no spirit or even wish amongst the people for one side more than another. Good-night.

'Blake,' Plymouth: March 7, 1809.

I am now on board, according to an order, to attend the punishment of four poor wretches who are undergoing sentences of court-martial, and it absolutely makes me sick. Thus it is to march in the 'magnificent career of a British naval officer,' as our friend B. terms it. Alas! how ill-applied to the horrid office I am shortly to enter upon. I need not, however, make you a partaker of my suffering on this score; but I fear I cannot say anything at present which will not be tinctured with it. Admiral Young thinks *we three* shall be sent to L'Orient to watch as many enemy's ships; I think it full as likely that the demand for ships in the Downs will occasion our return there.

March 9.

We are all ordered back to the Downs.

May 12, 8 P.M.

We have had a continuance of fine breeze and clear weather after leaving England yesterday. The 'Dannemark' and 'Blake' seem nearly matched; yesterday I thought *she* beat, but to-day *we* have the advantage. 'Venerable' and 'Audacious' are not far behind, and they perhaps will think not at all. 'Mars' comes next, and 'Saturn' and 'Defence' alike bad. In a stiff breeze, or a sea, 'Blake' will *I* think put the superiority out of doubt. However, I do not mean to boast, and intend to let others tell her story. A schuyt with seven seamen belonging to the 'Flora' wrecked on the coast of Holland two years ago, has just reached the 'Venerable.' They say there are no soldiers in any part of the country; all gone to Austria, perhaps, by this time; but our ministry will not act, I suppose, till it be too late.

The squadron must have looked very pretty working out

of the anchorage (the Downs) yesterday to *anybody whose husband was not amongst us.* Do not fidget, however, my dear soul; for we are likely to have as nice an old woman's cruise as ever ships went on.

ORDER OF BATTLE.

	Dannemark.
	Saturn.
Reserve.	Defence.
Princess Carolina.	(*Flag*) Venerable.
Plantagenet.	Blake.
Audacious.	Victorious.
	Mars.

ORDER OF SAILING.

Larboard or *Lee.*	*Starboard* or *Weather.*	*Reserve.*
	Venerable.	
Blake.	Dannemark.	Princess Carolina.
Victorious.	Saturn.	Plantagenet.
Mars.	Defence.	Audacious.

'Venerable,' in the Downs:
May 5, 1809.

RD. STRACHAN.

To the respective Captains, &c.

Captain Codrington to Mrs. C.

Off Flushing: May 14.

We anchored last night in a calm, and shall probably continue so all to-day. We are quite out of sight of land, although it is at no great distance from us; but the water is as smooth as glass; and so far this is a pleasant sea to cruise in. We seem to be a floating town of male banditti.

'Blake,' off Flushing: May 15, 9 P.M.

At noon to-day 'Blake's' signal was very unexpectedly made to weigh and repeat signals to 'L'Aimable,' who went in chase of a suspicious vessel, and we flatter ourselves we did it very smartly: we had a very pretty cruise and have just anchored again. Thus has passed another day, and I feel, as Sir Richard says, that it is *a long time since we heard from England,* England being about seventy miles off, and it being five days since we left it.

Off Flushing: May 19.

I wish your news about our attacking Flushing may be true, but I fear there is nothing in it. However, as we get deserters, as well as some of our own poor fellows from the coast frequently, we know that there is no resistance to be made of consequence. The enemy's ships are gone up as

high as possible to be out of our way—even the two at Helvoet are warped up into the country, in consequence of the coast being robbed of everything that can be called a soldier, in order to carry on the war in Germany. We have had a vessel examining Flushing, in which they were hardly interrupted for the first two days. It is not unreasonable that our squadron should be reinforced, considering that we have been only eight to fifteen or sixteen.

May 24.

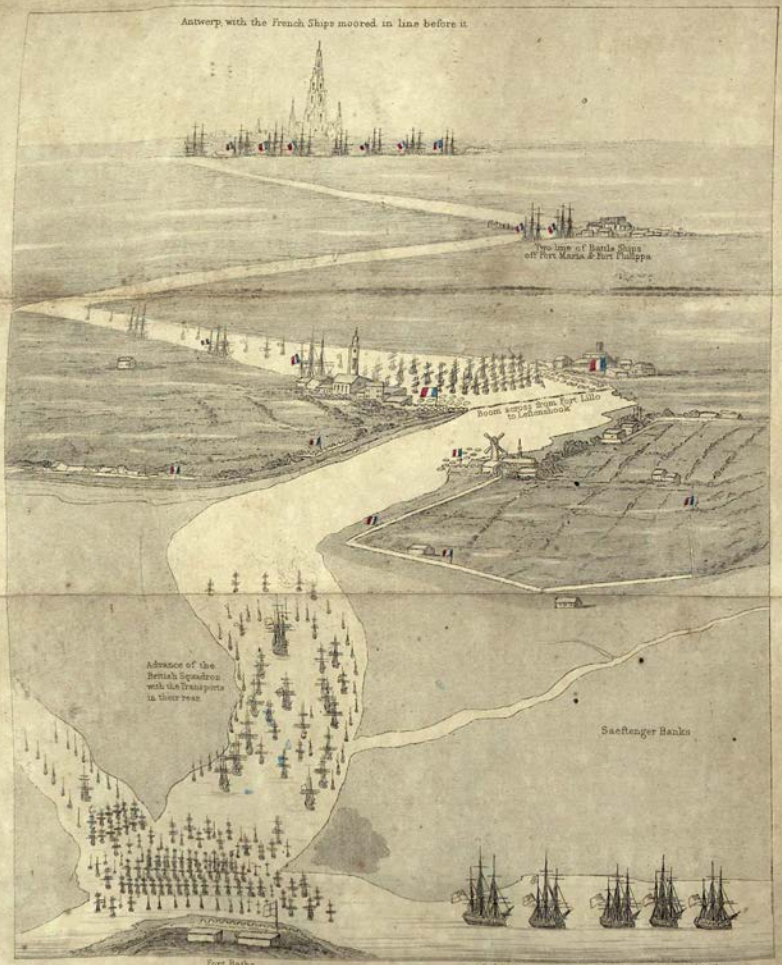
Sir Richard is all kindness, and wishes to live with his squadron upon terms of friendship; and we go on dining about. The enemy is gone as far out of our reach as possible, and Sir R. thinks that, but for appearance, the Admiralty would order us into port, and, if they wanted ships, detach a part of the squadron. There is no other Commander-in-Chief with whom I should like to serve as well just now, and I therefore hope to continue under Sir R.'s command.

June 3, 1809.

As you must have felt the violent gale of wind which began here yesterday about noon, and therefore, I conclude, fancied me in the condition of poor Jonas, it is incumbent upon me to tell you that the good whale has brought us back to our former position without the smallest injury. We each veered to two cables, but nevertheless each drove, notwithstanding there was a strong tide counteracting the wind. The 'Mars' being ahead of the 'Venerable' was obliged to cut her cable to avoid driving on board her; and some time afterwards, finding that the 'Blake' and 'Centaur' were driving towards each other, after Sir R. had made the signal for each of us to act as we thought best, I cut our cable and followed 'Mars.' All the others did the same, I believe, afterwards, except the 'Venerable,' who, I conclude, remained at anchor the whole time, as she signalised to each of us to day whereabouts the buoys of our anchors were; and by so doing I am sure must have suffered more than we did, indeed shows it by the appearance of head-boards, &c. We took up our cable again in a seamanlike manner (*i.e.*, without letting go another anchor for the purpose), have weighed and examined the anchor and cable, and have again let it go and put all in order.

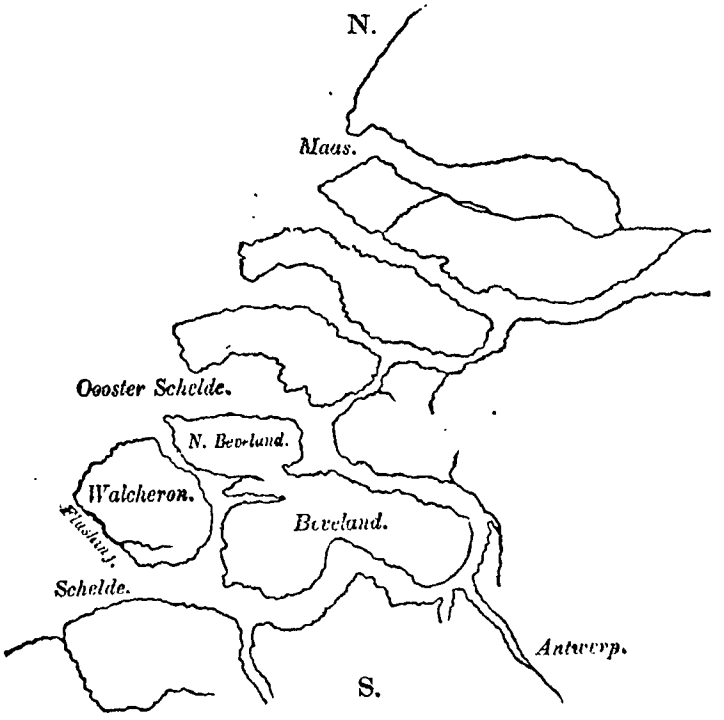
June 8.

I have only a moment to tell you what you will like to know, that Bissett being with two sail off the Texel, Sir R. leaves me in command of the rest of the squadron. If the


Antwerp with the French Ships moored in line before it
Two line of Battle Ships off Fort Maria & Fort Philippa
Boom across from Fort Lillo to Lillomshoek
Advance of the British Squadron with the Transports in their rear
Saeftenger Banks
Fort Bath
Adm.l Sir R. Strachan & Lord Gardner with 5 Sail of the Line

PLAN of the EXPEDITION in the WEST SCHELDT Aug.t 1809
Shewing the difficulty of approach to Antwerp

enemy would but come out I should have a chance I may never have again. In answer to your letter just arrived, I may say there is not any fear of our being blown on shore; the only danger being of our getting so much off our station that the enemy may escape. It would bare my bones probably, but I should triumph in an opportunity of attacking them under present circumstances.



Off the Texel: June 13.

I left the squadron yesterday in consequence of Bissett's arrival to take the command there, and have just got amongst the ships stationed here. I generally prefer head-quarters for the chance of any important event. At present, however, I shall find myself much better off here in every respect, except being more distant from you and news of my little heart-strings.

Sir R.'s manner and good opinion, or rather confidence, is very flattering to me. Ever yours, E. C.

Off the Texel: Sunday night, June 18, 1809.

The being an eye-witness of the loss of the 'Seulark' schooner this morning at ten o'clock, with thirteen out of the fourteen people she had on board, has taken the dazzle out

of my command, and made me wish myself more than ever in a private station. She was overset by a heavy sea within a mile of the 'Blake's' lee-beam, and was gone in two minutes. I put the ship before the wind, hoisted out the barge at some risk, and saved the only poor fellow then above water. Your heart, dearest Jane, so alive to the sufferings of others, and whose pains are increased by sharing mine, will be much affected by the bare recital of the fact. I will send you the copy of my letter to Sir R. S., which will give you all the history.

June 19.

The loss of this poor schooner haunts me, or rather the loss of the people; for I think such vessels only fit for despatch boats, for which they were first built; and perhaps the loss of some more of them might convince the Admiralty that they should not be kept constantly at sea. . . . . The more I investigate myself the more I am assured that we ought to discourage in our children that excess of sensibility which must be affected by the many incidents which occur in the course of nature, as well as what arise from service in any military or naval profession. It is a nice point to balance betwixt excess and indifference; but, from what I myself have experienced in the world, I believe that it is more consistent with happiness to lean towards the latter than the former. Indeed, even the approach to excess disables us, in many instances, from being useful to others.

'Blake,' off the Texel: June 29, 1809.

I must answer your letters just received. . . . . And now for the danger of being shot in this desperate expedition—if any such is to take place by way of change from the dull scene of eternal blockade. First, it *must* be a soldier's job to take Flushing; our part being to land them safely. Were there a fleet to oppose, *we* should act; but the ships already twelve miles up the Scheldt are more likely to go up to Antwerp than come down to Flushing, from whence they hurried away so much before we meditated an attack: and the utmost that we could have to do I think, would be to run into the anchorage and cannonade the town on that side whenever the army had so far succeeded on the land side as to invest the place completely and be pretty sure of its surrender. In short, we should not have enough to do to make Sir Richard Lord Flushing. Indeed, considering the demand Buonaparte must have for men, we have every reason to believe what we hear—'that there is not a French soldier in

Holland.' As to what the Dutch may do, judge by there being three sail of the line, one frigate, one brig, and several smaller vessels constantly in sight of us suffering themselves to be blocked up by the 'Blake,' the 'Amethyst,' and the 'Drake' brig! Surely after this statement you may make yourself easy as to the probability of my safety.

(Having gone from the Texel to the Downs, July 6th, and received the flag of Lord Gardner on board the 'Blake.')

'Blake,' in the Downs: July 9, 1809.

The true history of our cruise I take to be to prevent the enemy coming out, of which Ministers are afraid, before their *grand* expedition for the purpose of capturing or destroying the ships, is ready. You may therefore consider me as returned to the blockade of Flushing. Lord Gardner is all kindness and confidence and an acquisition to my society without being an encumbrance.

Off Flushing: July 15.

We have an official report that there is no vessel of any sort in Flushing Roads; and we have another from the Texel that the Dutch ships are gone up as high as Middleblick and the people wishing we may come there. I never was better in my life, and wish my Admiral were as well and in his natural good spirits.. But ill and anxious as he is, he is very pleasant, and no annoyance.

'Blake,' off Flushing: July 26, 1809.

Many people think this Austrian defeat will stop our business altogether: but even if it prove true to the whole extent of the bulletin, I think ministry will try to execute the *British* object of taking or destroying the squadron in the Scheldt. What the exact plan may be I know not: but with such a force, and of such varied means of hostility, it appears to me that the business ought to be done without much sacrifice of blood. For if not to save the lives of those whom the nation ought to think above all price, why are we put to such enormous expense? It appears to me that for every 100 men lost in such a case a minister should be put to death, beginning with the Minister of War, who would under such regulations, not (as —— says) require much kicking out. As to your belief that we *lower deckers* are to do the hardest service, let me ask you whether you would prefer my being in a transport obliged to run away if I met with anything above a frigate! However, to give you a little ease I must inform you that our opponents, after coming

down to Flushing, are all returned up the Scheldt;*the meaning of all which I leave you to divine, for I cannot. However, I hope decision will at length put speculation altogether out of the question.

July 27.

'The papers (which have given out all our *secret* line of battle) make our whole number of vessels-of-war employed in this affair amount to 128 besides cutters, buoy vessels, &c.—36 sail of the line, 19 frigates, 42 sloops-of-war, 4 bombs, 27 gun brigs; and 7 schooners and storeships. Seriously, I think the greatest chance of misfortune will arise from our numbers.

July 31.

We have made another movement and are within sight of smoke which we presume to have been caused by the landing of our troops at Camvire (the eastward end of the island of Walcheren) and also within hearing of some mortars which are fired either at or from Owen's division off Cadsandt (the westward shore of the West Scheldt). The 'Camilla' has brought her convoy of troops from the North, (Hoseley Bay), and the 'York' her immense addition from the Downs, I believe,—all of which appear to be going towards Camvire, where I conclude the landing is made good.

August 1.

By the smoke we can discern on Walcheren our troops are advancing rapidly, and are now about to invest or attack Flushing, and I expect that in another day or two, we, the great fire-eaters, shall sail quietly along into Flushing Roads to congratulate John Earl of Chatham on his military prowess.

August 2.

The French ships are actually at Antwerp, having taken out their guns and stores, and sent them by schuyts: and instead of Flushing being in our possession and Lord Chatham menacing Antwerp, we have not yet any immediate prospect of its falling. *We* have yet done nothing but fidget for something to do, nor have we had anything positively assigned to us except to be ready.

August 6.

We hear that our gunboats have forced a passage from the east side of Flushing, and imagine that the strong fort of Rammekins has fallen to us, which will facilitate the attack on Flushing, and hasten its fall. I hope we shall be able to keep it, that we may thereby blockade Antwerp: but I think the people who have to pay the expense of this ruinous armament will not be satisfied with less than the destruction of the French squadron.

Off Flushing: August 10.

We have just moved a mile or two nearer to the mouth of the passage which leads to Flushing: and as soon as wind admits, we are to take an anchorage within about three miles of the town, out of reach of shot and shells, for the purpose of assisting in cutting off the supplies from Cadsandt to Flushing, keeping up the communication with our army, and being in readiness for any attack which may be rendered necessary by the army not succeeding without us. If *we* are to do the job after all, why is the country to send such a force, at such an expense?

August 12.

Moored off Dishook; that is about three or four miles to the north of Flushing. We came in here yesterday under awkward circumstances as to the pilotage, but without accident to any of the squadron. And soon after we anchored, Lord W. Stuart with ten or eleven frigates, passed betwixt Flushing and Cadsandt, receiving and returning the fire of both sides, without as we judge having caused any injury to either party. It was a very beautiful sight; and to add to it Mr. Congreve amused the town with his rockets, in order I suppose to divert their attention from the frigates. But I was in hopes they would have passed on without firing a gun, in contempt of the endeavours of the enemy, which could not be lessened by the waste of powder and shot on our part. The dead silence which ensued was followed by a storm of hail, rain, lightning, and of course thunder; which, contrasted with the noise of the shot, shells, &c., of the hour before, made our mortal exertions, however awful from a knowledge of the destruction intended, appear very contemptible to the mind that could reflect on the possible consequences of that almighty means being turned to individual destruction instead of general good. The sight, however, was very interesting. The fire from Flushing was not very alarming to those who may be placed against its works. But this alternative will I doubt not be kept quite as a last resort, lest the army should be thought inefficient to the capture of a place, I cannot but consider as a paltry acquisition for such an enormous force to be sent against. We have a vast force now on Beveland (between Flushing and Antwerp), the French having attacked Bathz since we possessed it, and being repulsed. And Sir R. Keats in a frigate with our flotilla is there to oppose a large French flotilla, Sir R. Strachan being as we hear about to join him with all the frigates, and probably also the 'Courageux'

and 'Valiant,' which are now in the Wieling passage waiting a favourable opportunity of pushing through to join them. I think we shall lie here to cut off the communication, and wait the slow progress of the siege of Flushing, which will probably hold out a month, in spite of the hopes of the army. The batteries are not yet opened. We are now in a more satisfactory place, as we see what is going on a little—indeed we see our working parties close to those of the enemy—and I hear the pickets agree not to fire at each other.

'Blake,' Flushing: August 14, 1809.

Sir Richard gave us the signal this morning very suddenly to pass into the Scheldt, and as we had no pilot, we were to follow him in the '*St. Domingo.*' We did so, and, like the 'St. Domingo,' got aground on the Calloot under the batteries. The situation was certainly a very awkward one, but that you may be easy in the contemplation of my ever having to do such a thing again, after lying in that situation for two hours and three-quarters, drawing almost all the attention of the batteries to us and the 'St. Domingo,' we got over the bank to the anchorage, with one killed outright, one mortally wounded, and four or five others severely wounded. The 'St. Domingo' was farther off and had one only slightly wounded. We have suffered considerably in our masts and rigging, the main-mast and mizen-mast being wounded badly. Sails and rigging were very much cut, but will be in pretty good trim again to-morrow morning. None of the other ships had, I believe, a single shot from either of the batteries; and I think they will all give us credit for doing our duty and for severely galling the enemy. The town was burning all last night, and I had my glass on the large church burning about one o'clock this morning, when, after the most brilliant firework-like illumination, it fell at once to a heap of stones! To-day the same thing has happened to the Stadthouse, a large beautiful building; and the town is now on fire in so many different places that I think there will be scarcely a house left; but, as Percival said of Trafalgar, 'If I tell you all now, I shall have nothing to say when we meet.' Yet cannot I finish, dearest, my say of this night of escape, without assuring you that no personal danger to myself during the most trying part of it made me forgetful of the anxiety you have suffered on my account; and my heart seemed to cling to yours as its firmest support and its best safeguard.

August 15.

General Monnet, although he appears to have refused yes-

terday, has this morning sent out to settle terms on which he will surrender; and Lord Gardner and Commodore Cockburn are the two navy men who are to act as commissioners: who the army men are I know not yet. Sir R. says nothing shall go home without our knowing it, and he did intend to send to-day: but this will stop it until the terms are settled. The town must be a ruin. 7 P.M.—I believe I may say Flushing has surrendered, although we do not know the terms—which, indeed, are not settled. Whether Antwerp is to be our object or not seems doubtful. This island is like a flat fen turned into a garden.

Middleburg: August 16.

The mainmast is very much disfigured, and we have not paint to paint the fishes, which I fear may subject us to the charge of ostentation. To us it was a worse battle than that of Trafalgar, because we were in so very perilous a situation and the particular object of the enemy; but had all the ships been ordered to bring to and engage the batteries, I think they would have been silenced at once.

I must go and see if it really be the enemy marching out to ground their arms.*

From Ralfe's Naval History.†

On this occasion he voluntered to receive the flag of his friend, Lord Gardner, in the absence of his proper flagship. The Scheldt was forced on the 14th August, when the 'Blake,' having no pilot on board, grounded off Flushing, within gunshot of the batteries, and continued engaged with the enemy for two hours and three-quarters, having been set on fire by red-hot shot twice, amongst other considerable damage, and having eleven men killed and wounded. In alluding to this circumstance, Sir Richard Strachan, in his despatch of the 17th August, says, 'Lord Gardner bears equal testimony to the behaviour of the officers, seamen, and marines of the "Blake;" and his lordship mentions the assistance he received from Captain Codrington in the highest terms of praise.'‡ Throughout the whole of that unfortunate expedition the individual conduct of Captain Codrington continued to deserve and to receive the encomiums of his commander.

* I have found it recorded elsewhere, in notes written by my father himself, that the 'Blake' 'was engaged with the batteries of Flushing, and twice set on fire by red-hot shot, and aground for nearly three hours, before the ship floated.'—J. B.

† Vol. iii. p. 197, *Memoir of Sir E. Codrington.*

‡ See *Gazette Extraordinary*, August 20, 1809.

Middleburg: August 16.

There are but two killed and nine wounded, although there are six wounds in the mainmast and several *warm* shot sticking in parts of the hull. . . I find some general's horse always ready for me on shore, and shall be quite in high health by my exercise. The prisoners march out of Flushing to-morrow, and, in fact, surrender at discretion. If you see any of them, ask them how they liked the 'Blake's' fire. I have done my duty as a captain, and can, I think, trust to others to tell our story.

Off Flushing: August 17.

I will not again tell you my story, or I shall get tired of it: and moreover, I hope by-and-bye to tell it you *viva voce*. But both army and navy saw, felt for, and seemed much pleased with the 'Blake,' and therefore *you* may think ill of us if such should suit your fancy. Alas! poor dear, you will over-rate our deeds, I doubt not, in spite of all my rowing. We are going up the river towards Antwerp directly; the flotilla and frigates, besides 'Courageux' and 'Valiant,' being already gone. Whether we shall have anything to do or not I can't say positively, but I think that with all our other smaller vessels and the army, whatever French ships may be come-at-able must be in so awkward a situation that no more than our *countenance* can be required. At all events, we are now so much the better for our late proceedings that the result need not cause much apprehension. I read the account of the action in Spain (Talavera) with as much pain as admiration. We cannot afford such victories. The Spaniards must now begin to act for themselves, unless our handful of men is to do all. I have not read any of the papers you have sent. Sir Richard's thanks to the frigates for passing the batteries will probably be now extended to the ships of the line. Acland has been as kind as possible in giving me a horse and dragoon quite to myself.

9 P.M.

What may be the end of this trip it is quite impossible to foresee; but with all the flotilla and all the frigates in advance, I cannot anticipate much fighting. And having gone thus far I should not now like to return home without seeing the end of it. Should we get hold of some of the French ships, or even destroy them, John Bull will perhaps be satisfied; but Walcheren merely, will not, I believe, be considered as a sufficient recompense for so expensive an undertaking. Flushing, which I went all over, with Acland, yesterday evening, is really in a more dilapidated state than I expected.

There is scarcely a house uninjured by either fire, shell, or shot; and many that have suffered from the violence of each. In short there never was a town made so cruel an example of. Middleburg, on the contrary, is (from not having made any opposition), one of the prettiest towns I ever saw.

August 18.

No signal to move, and uncertainty the order of the day: this indecision is very disagreeable, and in my opinion most injurious to the service. Never mind the chatter of other wives, dear Jane, and keep your mind as easy as you can, and by no means encourage gloom by abstracting yourself from society. The French prisoners (above 5,000) marched out to-day to be shipped for England, and the English flag is flying at Flushing. The answer for Blake's getting aground, is, that I conceived Sir Richard's backing his topsails to be with the intention of engaging the batteries effectually; and both Lord Gardner and I concluded, as he, with a pilot, was to lead us who had none, that if aground he would signify it to us by that signal or by the signal that we were standing into danger.

'Blake': August 20, 1809.

We are moored off Oedekenskercke, a little above Bairlandt, in sight of Bathz. If you cannot tell to an inch where this is it is your fault and not mine. Our coming here yesterday produced us an introduction to Sir Home Popham, who came from Bathz to wait upon Sir R. S. on board the 'St. Domingo.' He lays blame on pretty thick, I assure you, and attributes to the great indolence of Lord C. the want of success which is likely to attend an attack on Antwerp. And unless this noble lord has reasons which are not altogether evident, it will be difficult to account for his waiting at Middleburg, even after the surrender of Flushing. Sir H. rightly says that whenever Flushing was invested Lord C. ought to have moved up to Bathz, and that all the troops on Beveland, 15,000, should have advanced towards Antwerp, leaving the troops not wanted on Walcheren to supply their place; by which means 30,000 might before this have been at Antwerp. That his proposal, on the execution of which he depended for the success he held out, was that all the troops not wanted for Flushing should ascend the river directly; that there would then have been only 4,000 to oppose them;* and that he warned Lord C. that from the 1st of August, when the plan would become evident to the enemy, his force would

* Subsequent note by Sir E. C. Vaucresson, and also Roca, said the same.

probably be increased at the rate of 1,000 men a day. He thinks activity would still produce success; but complains, that instead of letting the troops now at Bathz move on, and become the advance, they will not consent to alter a mere paper arrangement; and that they make a point of Grosvenor's corps now on Walcheren coming up to form the advance, as originally intended ! ! ! In the meantime Sir R. S. has brought us up here to show the army that we are beforehand with them. And upon Sir R. Keats writing to Lord Roslyn to say that although it was out of the question the navy (meaning the flotilla and frigates) making any attack on Lillo alone, he was ready to co-operate with or even undertake any operation which his lordship should point out; Lord R. wrote him for answer that he had no instructions whatever as to any further proceedings; nor did he conceive any were to be proceeded in until the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief. This makes the matter clear as to our part of the concern, and I doubt not our attack on the town the day before its surrender will gain the navy the credit with the people in England of having been the sole cause of it. The army complain generally of the tardiness of the Engineer department; and, in fact, when the town surrendered, there were no guns ready for opening within breaching distance. The firing the town was working cruelly on the *Dutch*; whilst in reality we should have battered a breach and left the town as much uninjured as possible. I have no doubt that the ships would have done this job the first day could they have got to it, but it was not the plan or good policy thus to dispose of the only ships ready for fighting, and nothing but Sir R.'s fears that we should be abused for doing nothing made him come in when he did. At the present it is agreed that we cannot go beyond Bathz until the army has possession of both shores where it is so narrow that the enemy could disable us; and I think we shall not go beyond Waerden (on this side Bathz) after all, because the French can always run away quicker than we can follow them. In the meantime we are anchored close to the shore.

I just hear that the Commander-in-Chief is now expected *to-day;* having been expected yesterday; and to be further probably expected to-morrow ! ! ! *Our* chief, however, is on the alert at Bathz, his ship being also as near it as circumstances admit; and many people sounding the channel further up.

10 A.M.

An officer from the 'St. Domingo,' just come, tells us that

Sir R. is gone up in a boat to reconnoitre the French squadron, and he means to move up to Bathz as soon as the channel is buoyed, when I conclude we shall follow him. We have reports of Cuesta having betrayed Sir Arthur Wellesley, which, however, I do not believe; but we cannot afford any more such victories. Our further progress must, I think, depend upon the affairs of Austria ending in peace or war.

Off Bathz: August 25, 1809.

Whilst a council of great officers are debating on our future plans and proceedings *I* have decided with all the rest of the underlings, both in red and in blue, that *the game is up*, and that the best thing we can do is to return home: and I really have my doubts whether we can make it worth while to retain Walcheren, that is to say, if we can retain it without a large naval force in addition to a strong garrison, which would, there is reason to fear, be very much reduced by the ague and fever to which the whole of this country is subject in the autumn, and the enormous expense to which we should be driven in order to raise and keep up fortifications which our active and enterprising enemy would make necessary. That this is a very fine river for commercial purposes is made evident by ships of the line coming up as we have done, exploring every inch of our way; but as the whole of the country is below the level of the sea at high water, and seems as if it were merely borrowed from an element which in an angry mood is always liable to reclaim it, it cannot in itself be desirable to England, whose excess of waste lands have such claim to the industry of the agriculturist. Vessels of a large size might load and unload on either side of the river, and the facility with which our numberless transports have gone up and down without any other assistance than what the circumstances have produced, shows what may be done with a little of that enterprise which is so common in England. It would, therefore, according to my mind, be a very desirable place of trade, but a curse upon those who became its inhabitants. We have very little information of the strength of the enemy, the opposition we may meet with, and the difficulties the country itself would oppose to us. The worst side of the picture presents us with an equality of force, a sickly season, and very extensive inundations: and I must add, one chief slow, indolent, and uncommunicative, whilst the other is hasty, wavering, and unsettled in his opinions and his conduct, and ever going before the point to which his own common sense would direct him. It is hard to have to throw our own two chiefs into the hostile scale; but such a want of

harmony in nature and in sentiment is to be justly termed a serious evil.

9 P.M.

My admiral has just returned on board, and has left matters quite as unsettled as they were yesterday: and it is therefore a folly in me to speculate on a point apparently left to be decided by the slow progress of events. In the meantime, four generals—Lord Roslyn, Fraser, Grosvenor, and Disney—are ill, and many of the soldiers falling sick with the ague; some anxiety about the horses as to their healthiness, and a scarcity of water, which requires that the horse transports should return some miles down the river to Waerden, where alone it is to be procured.

July 26.

In looking over the former part of this I felt disposed to tear it, for my meaning is really ambiguous. To you alone would I let such a confused history go: and by way of help to your understanding it, I must explain that I think our coming up here with no pilots but those who have made themselves such by sounding in advance of the ships and laying down a few buoys, is a proof that the river contains but few difficulties to the people of the neighbourhood. I heartily wish it contained more, for depend upon it England will have no great reason to rejoice in the temptation we had to come here. According to what I can gather, the undertaking originally depended upon the affairs of Austria; and as Ministers had not the courage to stop the expedition, and meet the blame which would attach to a bad and most expensive speculation, they persevered—and pretended to be very sanguine in order to keep Lord C. and Sir R. S. in a humour to go. Lord C. says Ministers expected that the army would reach Antwerp in a week. . . Sir R. S. declares that he told Lord Mulgrave it was quite impossible to get at the French ships, as they would run up to Antwerp so soon as we made our appearance: and he adds that no difficulty has yet occurred which he did not foresee and foretell. Be this as it may, he will lose ground in the eyes of all those who know the value of arrangement and stability in such cases. Sir Richard Keats is, by firmness and ability, rising above difficulties which his foresight has led him to contemplate with anxiety of attention.

We are going to-day to make a visit to Sir R. Keats, and look at the position of our advanced squadron; and shall thereby have seen all that there was to see, in the event of our returning from hence. Our return down this river will

be a slow process; and if we are to retain Walcheren, I think we shall take and destroy the works of Cadsand and inundate the country.

From Mrs. Codrington to Captain C.

Walmer: August 22, 1809.

How heartily do I congratulate you and myself, my very dear, on your having safely and creditably gone through the dangers of the dreadful scene in which you have recently been an actor. You well know my feelings on this most interesting subject, and can therefore easily conceive how gratified I was by a sight of the 'Gazette' in which you are distinguished. Yesterday (Monday being always a blank day) I must own that on seeing Admiral Campbell come *alone* in his curricle, my heart *misgave* me—till his smiling face entered the room with 'Good news, Mrs. C.' I cannot describe how happy and light at heart I felt all day. I admire Sir Richard Strachan very much, and I doubt not, in action, there are few people whose example may be more worth following; but why did you imitate him in his fancy for the '*Calloot*' I should be glad to know? However, as the 'Blake' was to get ashore, I am glad she followed the Commander-in-Chief. Will your wounds in the masts require your coming here or your going to Portsmouth? I hope the two sailors' wives on board 'Blake' *behaved properly* in *action*.

From Mrs. C.

Walmer: August 27.

Everyone is open-mouthed about the inactivity—says that had the armament proceeded immediately up the Scheldt every one of the ships must have been taken, and that there would have been only 5,000 men to oppose them at Antwerp —*now* it is impossible to succeed in either. I fear *you* will all have Lillo for your next work, for the fleet is too high for *effective* line-of-battle ships to follow them.

I dined yesterday at the Admiral's (Campbell). They talked a good deal about Flushing, and Walcheren generally. Admiral C. said, speaking about the two flag-ships grounding, 'I think I can easily account for it (very significantly). Codrington won't go to leeward of any man; the "St. Domingo" got aground—well—Codrington would not be farther from the fort, and so he did the same.' He spoke of it in a gratifying manner.

They say Cadsand is to be inundated so as to be lost for

ever, and that we are to sink four of our old ships to destroy the navigation of the Scheldt— the 'Princess of Orange,' the 'Agincourt,' the 'Monmouth,' I think, and another.

From Captain C. to Mrs. C.

Off Bathz: August 27, 1809.

Among the letters you have sent me, one from our good friend Mrs. N. just caught my eye. In it I see a beautiful line, which she says she caught from you, and which I therefore the more admire. Indeed, it is a lesson to myself, most beautifully taught, as the language is so well adapted to the precept. How often I have failed in it through life! and how much pain would an obedience to this doctrine have saved me!

And gently take that which ungently comes.

You may assure B. there is no likelihood of our proceeding further. In my opinion our great chiefs are studying how they can get out of the scrape with the least blame for undertaking such a business. Lord Gardner, Legge and myself went yesterday on board the 'Courageux,' the most advanced of our ships, to see all that was to be seen—that is, the impossibility of going further up whilst we have our senses to direct us. The French shipping appears almost as like a forest at Lillo, as ours does at Bathz. Our horse transports expend *one hundred tons of water* a day; and it is only from England that water fit for men is to be procured, beyond what the troops dip on shore out of tanks, &c., for their own use. That is, water for all the seamen and troops embarked must come from home, which ought to have been a serious consideration with the directors of this immense armament. All the milch cows of the island are killed for beef for those on shore, and there is not, of course, any for us afloat.

We are told that the Dutch were anxious for our coming, and I presume their cutting away the buoys (as the masters attendant report), is considered as a proof of their desiring our stay amongst them. I believe, however, that they find Louis a good man and a good king, under whom they are reviving their happiness; but it is most extraordinary that there is no instruction from our Government as to what trade and intercourse is to be permitted with the people over whom we have now military power, and who would be glad to exchange produce with us at all events. Our progress down this river will probably be as slow as our decisions on

the plan of so doing. General MacLeod (chief of the artillery) told me that he should take care to have all the guns on Beveland embarked before our retreat, but I have heard of no orders being given. I am inclined to think that letters from the chiefs have passed to-day respecting the determination which I judge to have been made yesterday to retire.

After visiting the 'Courageux' yesterday we went to see the most beautiful of all the frigates, the 'Lavinia,' whose arrangements below are equal to her external beauty. We afterwards met Sir Rd. Strachan and General Graham at dinner with Sir R. Keats, in the old 'Camilla,' where he is miserably lodged for the occasion. He is worn and ill, and heartily wishes himself on shore. Graham has moved out of a wretched transport into the 'Lavinia.'

August 28, 1809.

Indecision seems still to hang over us, and what plan is to be pursued I cannot divine. The horse transports, and I should think many others, are gone one stage down the river, perhaps by way of beginning our retreat, and not merely to endeavour to get water, which is, however, much wanted. To-day we are ordered to put ourselves to two-thirds allowance of provision, *because the army is almost destitute.* After 300 aguish troops had been ordered on board 'Audacious' and 'Venerable,' the order was annulled as soon as they were all in those ships. It would seem to require very serious consideration before such an order were given, even although the ague be not contagious: but by the sudden contradiction of it, one would be led to imagine that in this case it has been done without a second thought. We have also to-day had an order to hoist flat boats IN, *preparative* to landing troops: which to people unused to such confusion would demand an explanation that we, who are aware of the probable contradiction which to-morrow may produce, do not require. Can one feel for one's country and be contented with this style of service?

. . . . .

—— did not expect we were to attack Flushing, neither in fact was it so intended, and we had every reason to expect the town would fall without it. I feel it quite impossible to speculate upon what may be the plans of people who seem not to understand the term: however, the despatches by the 'Idas,' which I conclude contain decisive *opinions* of the futility of advancing further up the Scheldt, will, I trust, produce some decision from home, lest we waste the whole

autumn here in uncertainty, and sacrifice to that military vice half the life and property with which we are entrusted.

August 29.

They are now embarking the guns at Bathz, and the transports are all on the move. When we may start does not seem to be determined on, but the frigates, I suppose, will bring up the rear, and there will be no guns on Beveland, even if the French should venture to pursue our army. Poor General Houston, who has got this intermittent fever, goes to England in the 'P. of Wales' cutter. He is very ill, but I know not any way in which you can be of use to him.

August 30.

The guns and ammunition are embarking, and the greater part of the troops and transports are gone down the river: but we probably may yet be detained here for some time, it being, I fancy, intended that we should carry the last batch of troops. And if we are to stay till the six ships ('Agincourt,' 'Monmouth,' 'Princess of Orange,' 'Namur,' 'Leyden,' and 'Adamant') arrive here, there is no saying when it may be: not one of them as yet has begun to ascend the Scheldt.*

Still off Bathz: September 1, 1809.

The week allotted by Ministers for our reaching Antwerp does not accord with our actual operations. Two large ships are just reported to be coming up the river, and I therefore presume we shall remain here to sink them in the channel, for they must be two of the ships intended for that purpose. The batteries did not, as I hear, do our ships any mischief yesterday, and the only danger now is that the enemy should push over a superior force to South Beveland, and beat our remaining troops there before they are all embarked. To us they can do no mischief, because they have no guns, and we have; and they will, perhaps, not run the risk of our cutting off their retreat with our flotilla and landing a superior force in our turn. I think the country will be satisfied that the navy has not been wanting in giving every possible aid to the army. Indeed, we were always beforehand with them, and they have never, I believe, had occasion to express a want, but at this moment, to hasten their retreat: and this want is of boats and vessels, in consequence of the number of sick that have become so by the unnecessary delay of their chief. I thought yesterday we were about to move further

* These ships were to be sunk in the Scheldt.

down directly, but we really know not for two hours together what is likely to be done.

The Admiralty has actually ordered that the sloop of war and frigate on the stocks at Flushing, merely in frame, should be built up by the artificers of the squadron, and sent home by the first easterly wind!!!!!! I cannot do better than finish with this clincher. Ever yours, E. C.

Below Ellewontsdyke: September 2, 1809.

The date of my letter tells you the cause of my writing, and probably all I shall have to say, for we are all bustle and fuss as usual, executing orders which seem to come with the lightning. I never was less in expectation of moving than this morning at seven o'clock, when the signal was given to unmoor—to prepare for *sea*—and to weigh—all in a minute; for Sir R. himself had said (what everybody else equally thought the right method of proceeding) that the ships of the line should only move at half ebb, and continue under way till half flood, if the wind permitted! And yet in direct change from this sensible plan, we absolutely weighed at the very top of high water, when the consequences of getting aground would most probably have been fatal. We had the less reason to expect to move, from the arrival yesterday of the 'Leyden' and 'Adamant' to be sunk in the passage, and an order this morning to meet other captains on board his ship to consider of the best mode of doing it. And to mend the matter, we absolutely worked (by tacking) with less wind than sufficed to ensure the ships coming about, in a narrow passage where it was agreed that it was only safe to pass through with a fair wind. By this time, however, it was dead low water, and although the 'Repulse' grounded close to us she got off in about five minutes. And now that we are here, we are ordered to hold ourselves in readiness to return up to Bathz at a moment's warning in case of the enemy coming down from Lillo to attack our frigates, on board of one of which Sir R. is gone to hoist his flag. Of this, however, there is but little danger, for the enemy has only till Monday to consider of it, as on that morning the whole of Beveland will be evacuated by our troops, and our frigates will come away. He would probably get a thrashing by the attempt: and if he could produce a superiority, we have the 'Audacious,' 'Valiant,' and 'Courageux' at Wanderer, near at hand to them. And as to our going to their assistance, by your chart you will see that the wind which brings them down from Lillo would prevent the 'Blake' and her companions going up from hence. The French ships

of the line, we hear, have no lower deck guns in, and there are but four of them below Antwerp: and as they did not try either shot or shell at any of us to-day, but seem to have been contented with the dose they received from our bombs and gunboats at the new batteries where they opened at our advanced frigates two days ago, and have been quite silent since, I rather think they are glad to see us depart, and do not care to detain us any longer. The manner in which the ships have been conducted up and down this river without any previous knowledge, is very creditable to those commanding them. Some few have been aground, but with little damage, the 'Amethyst' twice, and nearly at high water, the 'Isis' twice at least, and some of the smaller ones who were more left to shift for themselves, occasionally. The 'Impérieuse,' going up entirely by the chart, touched the ground by Terneuse, where the chart gives the best channel, and the one the French use; and being fired at by the strong batteries there, she returned it.

There are a vast number of sick amongst the troops, and we hear that all the people of the 'Dryad' and 'Impérieuse' who have been serving on shore are ill also: but as many of them are gone home, you know as much of this matter as I do. You do not, however, know what Sir R. told us this afternoon, when we went to wait upon him in obedience to his order of this morning,—that he had now given up all intention of sinking the ships by way of blocking up the passage. To other people it would seem very strange that the thing should be given up at the moment the vessels arrived and the plans were settled: but it need not surprise us, who know that we all went to Bathz, army and navy, in full preparation to go to Antwerp, when it was already settled that our going there was impossible, even before we left Flushing. Indeed, the Royal game of Humbug has apparently been played to the greatest perfection by all parties, beginning with the wise men of Westminster.

We have now got our main yard down on deck, repairing the shattered yard arm, which we have not had one safe day to do since the action, and you will now see us, though somewhat rusty, all to rights again as far as appearance goes.

Near Flushing: September 5.

Although you may think my letter of the 25th August gives a doleful picture of events passing here, I fear it is not the worst you will yet have; for Lord Huntly, in a letter, says the army have 8,000 sick now, and they are daily increasing. In the navy we have, I believe, only those who

have formed the sea brigade on shore, and I have only heard of these in the 'Dryad' and 'Impérieuse.' Whether anything further is to be attempted or not, I know not; but as the frigates and flotilla are close to Ellewontsdyke, and may perhaps reach this during the next tide, in spite of a dead calm which increases the risk of getting on shore, it may and ought to be very soon decided.

September 7.

Yesterday evening we moved down to our former anchorage near Flushing, and all our ships are now safe out of the reach of the enemy, who took possession of Beveland immediately after our retiring, and whom we saw at Ellewontsdyke; indeed they there caught a number of officers and people of the 'Bloodhound' (I believe 17) who were on shore in the village, in direct opposition to both signal and order.

September 7.

There appears to be a great actual enmity in Sir R. against Lord C. by his letter in the newspaper, which announces the giving up further operations; and by what I to-day learnt from ——— this feeling is gaining strength by their present correspondence upon the security of Walcheren. Lord C. requires a chain of small vessels from Flushing to Veer; but Sir R. desires to know what sea defence he has raised (which he knows to be none), and points out the probability of their being driven for shelter both to Veer and Flushing, the two extremes. But are we to keep the island only at the expense of the lives that the service in these vessels would *of course* lose us? The gunboats and flotilla have done wonders, have done all the hardest duty, the men being exposed to all the worst which can be met with from weather and climate; and according to this kind of *generalship* there would be no period to their sufferings but in death. With all the array of Staff, they have not yet attempted to do anything to resist an attack from South Beveland; and it is doubtful if Walcheren can be kept, even with all proper works to defend it.

September 8, 8 P.M.

If the island of Walcheren is to be protected by the navy *entirely*, it would be better to remove the army *entirely*, instead of letting them stay here to die; and as Monnet lost fifteen hundred men (or the half of his garrison) last autumn, what are we English to expect with our beef-and-gin-loaded stomachs, and our extreme imprudence arising from inexperience in regular campaigning? Lord C., in his letter, says the Generals were unanimous in their opinion that the army

should not advance further *on the 25th August*; but he could not say that such would have been their opinion if he had assembled them at Bathz on the 16th or 17th, which he might have done, even if his presence were necessary at Flushing till its surrender on the 15th. Sir H. P. says that he told Lord C. that from the 1st August, when the landing would probably be known fully by the enemy, he might expect his force to increase at the rate of 1,000 a day.

September 9.

The 'Resolution,' I am told, has made her number, and as there are two others with her, 'Revenge' and 'Agincourt,' perhaps we may really be to go to Helvoet. In this case it appears to me we can only land our men and support the flotilla, and I am pretty sure it will be an affair unconnected with the army. We are all sick of *conjunct* expeditions, and, indeed, the army does not seem equal now to dispose of any troops for further operations. I hear Sir R. is now regretting the writing such a letter as he did from Bathz about Lord C. . . . .

From Mrs. C.

Walmer: September 6.

No sooner is one anxiety over than it is succeeded by another—and now you are all going on a *second* expedition. I trust it will be better planned than the last, and I am sure it will be better executed if left entirely to the navy—for, whatever faults our chief may have, forwarding the service he is sent on is his first object most certainly. Success and safety attend you all! The report is that it is to Helvoet and Wilhelmstadt you are destined. The day (the 2nd) I dined at the General's (Lord Carrington) I was told that there had been a most dreadful scene on the beach the whole morning, just under their windows, landing the sick, actually some dying as they landed. And even here so inefficient are the arrangements that there was not room enough for the numbers that did arrive, and the poor fellows were lying about in the barrack yard for hours without refreshment and exposed the whole time; *now* there are tents pitched for them, but that seems a very bad plan for invalids with ague.

September 9.

1,039 sick arrived here to-day; out of 100 in a transport eight were thrown overboard between Flushing and this place, and they generally die six or eight every day! It is really too dreadful to think of.

. From Captain C. to Mrs. C.

September 11.

The weather is good for the climate, the fever arising, I fancy, from stagnant air and stagnant water. Middleburg is clean, airy, and higher than most parts, and moreover is cleansed by the tide. The extensive illness I conceive to be caused by the sleeping in the low swampy places during the little hot exhaling weather we have had.

Middleburg: September 14.

I came here on Tuesday the 12th. King, who receives Lord Chatham this day, in order to take him to England in the 'Venerable,' will, if he should come out here again, offer you a passage; and though I can give you no proper information or advice about it, I will not say don't accept it. If the worst came to the worst, as the saying is, I could get you sent back in a cutter.

Off Flushing: September 16.

The old lady with whom I am billeted at Middleburg by means of Acland, entreats me not to part with my billet, but to lodge with her so long as I stay here; and at all events not to take my name off her door, that she may avoid having any less quiet person. I feel quite ashamed of being thus *ordered* into the house of a gentlewoman. But, poor people, they are used to it; while, from the discipline of some who have been my predecessors, in the French service, she may well thank me for occupying a bed in her house! She is the widow of a man who was something in office under the Stadtholder at the Hague, and knew Lords Malmesbury, St. Helen's, and Auckland. Her name is Van Citters, which she says is the original of our Vansittart. She had a nephew taken at Jerveer, a Captain Van Citters, who went home in the 'York.' This good lady is short and fat, has the manners of a woman of fashion, and is very conversible. In what language? you will ask. Both in English and French. What she cannot explain in English she does into French; and I do into English what I cannot explain in French. But you would never laugh at my French if you were to hear Acland. The lady in whose house he is quartered told me, after I had explained for him, that it would be a very great satisfaction to her if *Mons. le Général understood French as well as I do!* By the bye, my old lady seems to be a great eater, and as I have discovered that she is very fond of English cheese, particularly Double Gloucester, pray send me one for

her. If you were to come, you should get Mr. W. to let you have a cutter to secure your retreat.

September 18, 1809.

I shall commence with an epigram, which Sir Richard received in a letter yesterday, which tells the story of the expedition at once:—

Says Strachan to Chatham, 'Come let us be at 'em!'
Says Chatham to Strachan, 'No, we'll let 'em alone.'

Another epigram going about at this time:—

Lord Chatham with his sword undrawn,
Was waiting for Sir Richard Strachan.
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
Was waiting too—for whom?—Lord Chatham.

From Mrs. C.

Walmer: September 17, 1809.

I hear to-day that General Graham is better, but still very weak. He is in London. Major Cathcart is at Deal—not expected to live twenty-four hours. Colonel Macdonald is now taken very ill. Three officers of 63rd died here in two days; in short, I cannot tell you half the melancholy events of this kind I hear of; and as to the privates, it is truly dreadful—they die fourteen and eighteen of a day, and yesterday thirteen were buried in one grave, the day before sixteen in another, and so they go on. You would have loved Lord Carrington for the warmth of indignation with which he speaks of the arrangers of this ill-fated expedition, and his wish that the Ministers might be made witnesses of the dreadful havoc thus made amongst their fellow-creatures.

September 20.

I am glad to say Major Cathcart improves, and hopes are now entertained of his life.

From Captain C. to Mrs. C.

September 18.

We have this day moved into a berth close to Flushing. The fever continues strong at Flushing, but is better at Middleburg. I am sorry to say a gross neglect as to the provision of quarters and hospitals is believed to be the great cause of the extent of it.

September 20.

I heard yesterday that Sir Richard is going to England directly. I conclude he will return here, as he told me some

time ago that he wished to go home to give his opinion as to the advantages of keeping this island.

Middleburg: September 20.

How can you suppose me braving a disease which has alarmed so many? The truth is that although I see no danger of catching this complaint (which besides not being contagious appears to me to arise from causes not liable to affect me, were I even less cautious in these matters than I am) there are scarcely any, I believe, who now receive this complaint without being guilty of some imprudence to entitle themselves to it. The disease itself is only prevalent during the hot weather, which produces exhalations from the stagnant waters which abound in this fenny country. But if by eating sour apples and drinking gin, or by any other such means so customary with Englishmen, a man is predisposed to fever, any consequent cold will turn to the prevailing disease of the country. But the country near Gravesend, as well as many other parts of England, is just as bad in this respect, and yet nobody is alarmed about it. As to the number of generals who have been taken ill, their situations do not apply to me. Fraser had a paralytic stroke. Graham, besides being so often surrounded by these evaporations during his night duty, persevered in sleeping in his clothes, even after he was with Lord W. Stuart in the 'Lavinia,' by way of keeping himself handy—a practice to which few of his age are equal for a continuance. Disney was a man of bad constitution, as well as Houston, and each became ill during the hot oppressive weather, to which I allude as the direct cause of the general reception of the disease. But I need not surely go on thus to convince you that with so many inducements to preserve a life which nature herself had taught me to value before I knew the happiness in store for me, I am not eager to *brave* a disease which has caused such an extent of mortality. But the extent of this disease does not surprise those who have seen our men packed together in hovels such as would be thought unfit for dogs, exposed to the noxious night-airs, and in some cases with only damp straw to lie on. Indeed, till Lord C. went, and Sir E. Coote, with Dyott and Acland, visited the whole of the hospitals and barracks, even the sick were no better provided, and death has consequently followed the convalescence. Warmth and comfort should certainly attend those just out of fever in all cases, but particularly after a disease so debilitating as this is found to be.

The Calloot (or Dogsand) shoal and the land above the town of Flushing is a strong anchorage.

The army is throughout for the evacuation, but Sir R. and Sir H. P. both against it.

Conceive, if you can, the Admiralty desiring Sir R. S. to send what ships he can spare to lie in the Downs, in readiness to pursue the French squadron should it escape down the Scheldt!!! This does not bespeak a high opinion of the utility of this island, nor much of the watchfulness of those now guarding it. However, the sick now amount nearly to ten thousand, I fancy, and all working parties are out of the question; but we hear that the troops of the enemy, both French and Dutch, are sickly also. There are but few—and of the latter, I hear—in Beveland.

September 24.

This equinoctial weather will, I hope, be in some measure conducive to health, and may produce us a fine October. The natives of these parts, however, consider this as a remarkably healthy year, from being more cold, but they do not like the wet weather.

The following account was written down for me after my mother's death, by the loved and loving friend—Miss Treacher—who was her companion in danger on that trying occasion.*

Mrs. Codrington spent the summer of 1809 at Walmer, Captain C., then in command of H.M.S. 'Blake,' being employed in the expedition against Walcheren. When all warlike operations there had ceased, he sanctioned her going to pay him a visit—as she had been offered by Captain King a passage in the 'Venerable,'—to see the island before our disastrous occupation of it ended. She kindly invited me to accompany her, and on the 28th September, at 6 A.M., we embarked on board H.M.S. 'Venerable,' under the command of Captain Andrew King, and sailed for the Downs in gallant trim immediately afterwards. About 7 P.M. we arrived at the anchorage called the Stone Deep. There Captain King wished to remain, for the tide had begun to ebb—we were still ten miles from the fleet, and there were symptoms of a coming storm—but he was overruled by the pilot, who affirmed that he could take the ship in in safety. She had not, however left the anchorage five minutes when she

* Mrs. Codrington went in the 'Venerable,' and returned to Deal in the 'Dannemark,' 74, October 30, 1809.

struck upon the sandbank. The second shock she received carried away the rudder, and her ultimate fate then became very precarious. As soon as he could disengage himself from his more important duties, Captain King came into the cabin and frankly told us the difficulties and dangers of our situation. Tears were in his eyes when he spoke of Mrs. C.'s being exposed to them; but she, with the sweetness of manner that was peculiar to her, said all she could to lessen his regret on her account. He then offered the barge to convey her to the 'Blake,' saying he was going to send off all the boats he could spare with as many of the soldiers' wives as they could contain (there were upwards of sixty on board, likewise going out to join their husbands), but she begged him to use the barge also for their accommodation, adding: 'It shall not be said that the safety of these women was risked in order that the ladies might be saved; besides, I am sure that if I could have my husband's advice on the subject, it would be that I should not quit the ship.' Then, turning to me, she said: 'I wish, however, that you should not run this additional peril, if it is one; pray, therefore, do you go.' This I of course refused to do, and Captain King acknowledged that there was perhaps as much danger in going as in staying. Soon afterwards the provisions and quarter-deck guns were thrown overboard to lighten the ship, but she continued to strike so heavily, and the water to increase so much—the orlop deck being then full—that it was thought necessary to cut away the main and mizen masts, and Captain King came again about one o'clock to conduct us into the wardroom as the safest place during the operation.

While we were there one of the officers addressed us, saying: 'Pray, ladies, do not be frightened—I assure you the ship is in no danger.' Mrs. Codrington replied: 'Sir, we know our danger, and are prepared to meet it.' When it was over we were again led back to the cabin and left to ourselves until past four o'clock; for even the military officers who were on board, and who till then had occasionally come intending to cheer us, were too busy taking their turn at the pumps to be able to do so any longer; they said, indeed, afterwards, that they had thought the danger so imminent they had not the heart to come to us. Little conversation passed between us during this tedious night, for the thoughts of both were probably too actively employed for much communication; but the beautiful calmness and resignation of dear Mrs. Codrington's behaviour are yet present to me. She who had so much to make life valuable, did not for an instant lose her presence of mind, nor utter one word of im-

patience; she would sometimes rather murmur than *say*: 'Oh, why did I, a wife and mother, risk the putting myself in this situation? why did I bring *you* into this danger?' Then she would again revert to her darling boys, or to the grief she feared her husband might be called upon to suffer, if not actually suffering, from the knowledge of her situation (for we imagined that the signals of distress were seen and would be supposed by the fleet to proceed from the 'Venerable,' as she was expected at Walcheren); but of sorrow for herself personally there was not an expression, and, I firmly believe, not one thought. With day came renewed hopes of succour, and, at about ten o'clock, a brig was seen in the distance—a signal was made to her, but it was one o'clock before we left the 'Venerable', which we had great difficulty in doing, for she was then high out of the water, and was rolling heavily in a very rough sea. We got down her side, however, without accident, as well as up the less formidable one of the brig, which lay to for us at the distance of a quarter of a mile; she was laden with wine for the fleet, and was going into Flushing. On our arrival at the roadstead, about four o'clock in the afternoon, Captain Paget came and introduced himself to Mrs. C. He had observed the brig from his ship, and guessing one of the ladies he saw on deck to be her, had kindly come to offer to be useful and to account for Captain Codrington's absence. We went with him on board the 'Blake,' and as soon as we were in the cabin and alone, Mrs. C. relieved her over-excited feelings by a burst of tears:—they were the first she had shed, and they did her good, for they were tears of joy and thankfulness. But she soon became very uneasy at the continued absence of Captain Codrington: he had left the 'Blake' in his gig at early dawn, as soon as the state of the 'Venerable' was known to him; but wind and tide being both against him, he had not reached the ship until nearly three hours after we left her; she was then rolling so heavily that he could not get up the side. *He* also went through a most weary, anxious, and I believe I might add, perilous day, and did not get back to the 'Blake' until near seven in the evening; but he found his reward in his dear wife's safety. MARY TREACHER.

May 21, 1837.

In speaking of the circumstance here recorded, my mother has often described to me her distress at seeing the terrible fall of her dear friend and companion, Miss

Treacher, while she herself was totally unable to assist her, being obliged to use her utmost endeavours to save herself from a similar accident: a violent shock threw Miss Treacher off her chair, and dashed her from one side of the cabin to the other; and a heavy chest of drawers which broke from its lashings at the same moment, took the same direction, and appeared to fall quite upon her: she was much bruised and hurt by her fall. My mother told me also that at first she counted the shocks which the ship received by striking upon the bank, but when they *passed one hundred* she left off counting.*—JANE B. CODRINGTON.

From Mrs. Codrington to Mrs. Gwyn, in answer to her friendly enquiries.

'Blake,' Flushing: October 23, 1809.

Nothing, certainly, could be more melancholy than so fine a ship leaving the Downs in such good order, and in such gallant trim, and before the twelve hours came round being a wreck on the shoals of this river. But still, by dint of incessant exertion, she has been got off and patched up here, and is to be towed to England for repair. Now, with respect to myself, you pay me a great many compliments that I do not feel I deserve, for, so situated, I had nothing to do *but to be quiet*, and that is, in fact, all I could do or did do. The scene was most certainly a formidable and awful one. The ship striking during two tides, and firing minute guns the whole night, without bringing anything to our assistance—everything that could be was thrown overboard to lighten her and two masts cut away—so that when daylight appeared she did present a most melancholy spectacle. But, thank God, no lives were lost, which was most fortunate, considering what the ship's company went through. Yours affectionately, J. C.

Mrs. C. having put your letter into my hand, I cannot resist the impulse I feel to thank you for the friendly interest you take in our welfare. Jane's conduct is not undeserving the praise she has received, unless there is want of truth in all those who were witnesses of her firmness and her presence of mind; and some who were before strangers to her have now received the conviction which was long ago established in my mind, that it requires but to know her to appreciate her

* Her child was born in the following January in London.

as one of a superior order. You, my good friend, will excuse a man who has been seven years a husband praising the wife of his choice, the mother of his children, when so fair an opportunity is afforded him. The fact of a ship being on the shoal and dismasted was ascertained by me about seven o'clock in the morning, and although I had every reason to fear its being the 'Venerable' with Mrs. C. on board, I was in a boat rowing against wind and tide until nearly four o'clock in the afternoon before I could reach her, and get relieved from my suspense. For, having gone away from this ship in a hurry and without our breakfasts, some of the men could row no further from fatigue, and I was obliged to anchor the boat about half a mile short of the ship on the shoal; and when at last I did reach her, I learnt that Mrs. C. was gone to Flushing in a merchant brig which had been called to their assistance. When I reached the 'Blake,' about seven o'clock in the evening, I was surprised to find Mrs. C. and her companion quite well and in good spirits, having just dined: nor has she suffered in the least in consequence. I need say little to you upon the melancholy state of the troops here, as the subject is so much dilated upon in the newspapers. But the sickness is no otherwise lessened than by the diminution of the numbers. This is exemplified by the fact of there being now only about two thousand six hundred fit for duty on the island. I trust the business will be fully inquired into, that gross neglect may meet its punishment, let who will have caused it. But my paper tells me it is full time to beg my kindest remembrances to Gwyn, &c. If C. B. ever intends to be better than an invalid, he must never cease to treat himself like one. —Yours with sincere regard, EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From Captain C. to Mrs. C.

October 31.

We are told Sir Richard is certainly coming (from England), and that it is with a view to the evacuation of the island. The new chief (General Don) seems to take measures something like a soldier, but those measures are apparently more in readiness for evacuation than for retention. Another convoy of sick sailed with the 'St. Fierenzo,' and I rather think the soldiers have found out that it is worth being sick for the sake of home medicine; and perhaps the officers have discovered that it is not disagreeable to be put out of orders for inefficiency, and sent home with their regiments.

——— perhaps judges that, according to our usual prac-

tice, we shall not determine to evacuate the island until the fortifications are completed and it is actually in a fit state for defence. And Buonaparte, whose ability is not less shown in reading clearly the men he has to contend with than in any other science, will be contented to wait patiently until he can resume command of the place without the necessity of expending any money in making it tenable. We might certainly evacuate it now without opposition or difficulty of any sort; but if we hold it a month longer, besides the loss of lives and the vast expenditure of money, we shall be so put to it that we may not perhaps be able to demolish the works we have made, and may lose some credit in the haste of our retreat. Such is our system in all countries we either enter as friends or foes, that we are sure to be disliked as a nation whatever we may be as individuals. Even unto this day do we continue to employ by requisition all the waggons and teams of the farmers to carry stores betwixt Flushing and Middleburg, when only one skuyt would take the whole by the canal!

Flushing: November 5, 1809.

There is but one opinion as to the probability, as well as to the propriety, of evacuating this detestable country. But as we hear that there are not many men at Antwerp, and that the French have formed basins in the dykes, up the river, for securing their ships against the ice, our precious Ministers will, I fear, hesitate and dilly dally on till death deprive us of our army entirely.

November 7.

It is clear, by letters received, that we shall soon leave this place. One letter says General Don is desired to prepare to destroy the works, and to send word if he has not troops enough for the job, that a reinforcement in such case may be ordered out for the express purpose.

November 8.

I shall have made you uneasy on account of our valued friend Acland by my to-day's letter, but, partaking of his warm friendship, one has a right to share in his suffering; however, he has written me word to-day at three o'clock that he is getting well.

November 12.

In the meantime, more and more sick are daily embarking, and the proportion of sick to the well is daily increasing: and as there are now no more than four thousand troops on the island, it will be evacuated by the combined powers of disease and death.

November 21, 1809.

The frigate is to be launched Thursday, and we shall then want only light transports, &c., to be ready for quitting this place. For although I believe there are not more *troops* than four or five thousand, there are lists given in of people to embark amounting to eight, I believe. I expressed my surprise to General Don, and he told me there were many no better than camp-followers, or what Sir R. S. terms *locusts*.

November 22.

This morning I got papers, letters, &c., and ———'s sketch, which serves very well for the purpose; but with all the form of regularity, he has placed the ships of the line much too near each other, and not as they really were, although there was no particular order intended. 'St. Domingo' was nearest to Bathz, next 'Venerable,' then 'Blake,' 'Repulse,' and 'Audacious,' as we arrived.

A number of vessels are come to-day, which, added to those which arrived yesterday, will, I should think, take as many of the troops remaining here as will leave *us* a small proportion each. But the sick will be, at all events, put into the transports in preference, which is a material point.

November 23.

The frigate is to be launched to-day. Messrs. Johnston, Clarke, Stokes, and 30 men of 'Blake' help to man her.

November 25, 1809.

I shall make one more trip to Middleburg to-day (for shopping, &c.). I am too anxious about the destruction of the works here to think of anything else. As to what the enemy can do, it is all nonsense; although I cannot join in General Don's wish that they should attempt a landing, that he might catch them in his Quixotic net. Indeed, if his net were over them, I should wish them to find a hole in it, that we might not have a cargo of prisoners to add to our loading. The guns will, of course, be removed, and I think the works will be, at all events, so effectually destroyed as to make it impossible to use guns on them for some time, if the enemy were here close after us, and had them to use.

Sunday, 26.

The work of destruction is begun, notwithstanding the day is bad for it, and we are taught that 'in it you shall do no manner of work,' &c. Oh, that the 'Baronet' and the 'Knight' were here, for the advantage both of saving and destroying. All the ships of war have loaded themselves with

wood and iron of different sorts, in which I assure you the 'Blake' has not been backward; canvas, which we much want, there is none to be had, however, or we should be pretty complete.

November 29.

The basin will be effectually destroyed, I really believe, G. Moore having the arrangement, and the people working with glee; and the dockyard cuts a poor figure already. But it is really shameful that such heaps of stores should have been thrown away. We are all full of plunder, and there is still enough kicking about for ten sail of the line more; the transports taking what wood they like, that it may not be left to the French.

November 29.

Puget has taken up his quarters in the 'Blake.' His dockyard is undergoing destruction very fast, as well as the basin. The engineers, with their miners, will be ready to blow up the immense masonry of the dock entrance Saturday or Monday, but it will take nearly until the Monday to embark the guns, which it would be so very disgraceful to leave; so I do not expect we shall move before that time. We are to have several brass guns, and fourteen horses, which latter will be extremely incommoding. The people of Flushing lament our going, and many of them have quitted their houses in fear of the explosions which they think will take place. I hear, also, that the people of Middleburg are quite in distress about the return of the French. But in truth *many* will have reason to rejoice in our departure, at all events. There is little danger, I think, of any attack or interruption from the enemy. I doubt if they even intend to close upon our flotilla in its retreat, for they would, ere now, have shown some symptoms.

December 1.

The Engineers will not be ready to blow up the works of the basin gates before Tuesday, by which time all the guns must be embarked and the other preparations made. We have to-day received our proportion of the guns, and expect the horses to-morrow, and the first fair wind after Tuesday must, I think, take us off, after all the procrastination.

Flushing: December 3, 1809.

I must congratulate you as well as myself on the great share our friend Hallowell has had in the success, of which we have just heard, in the Mediterranean. You know how anxious I was that he should have some further opportunity of distinguishing himself, and how much I delight in the

honours which so deservedly fall to his lot. I hope he will now come home.

The guns, I believe, are all embarked, except those which have been destroyed and thrown into the basin, with shot, shells, &c., and I believe there are scarcely a dozen horses still on shore: the gun carriages, &c., &c., are cut up and burned, and there remains only to blow up the masonry of the dock gates, and burn the large store with all its *valuable timber*—even more valuable than the ship we took to pieces and sent to England.

Colonel Pilkington, the chief engineer, may perhaps delay us *for a day*, if a fair wind should spring up. But I think the patience of the chiefs will not last beyond such a sacrifice under the circumstances. At Owen's suggestion, I believe it is, we are to embark the army whether the wind be fair or foul, in readiness, instead of acting on General Don's plan of keeping a corps of 500 men at Middleburg as well as elsewhere. . . . I only wish to get home with the rest of this *no longer* GRAND EXPEDITION. You must recollect that it will take us two days' fair wind to get out of this place, as we must keep together for the support of each other, and the very short days may prevent the large ships getting quite through the Dunloo in a tide, in which case they must return.

December 6.

That you will have been much disappointed in our detention here so long, my dear Jane, is as evident as that all the English world, as well as the poor sufferers here, must sympathise in it. I trust they will not delay after an easterly wind has come. Lieut.-Colonel Pilkington now says he requires all this week in addition to the eleven days already gone. Thus do mistakes draw down upon our devoted countrymen misery, death, and dishonour in all our undertakings. And yet there are men, who would pass for men of sense, who say that everything is as well as possible and that no change can take place for the better."

December 7, 5 P.M.

Sir R. S. is arrived and comes here to sleep. The army is all embarked but a single rear guard of a few hundred men. The gates ready for blowing up, and only a wind wanting. The storehouses and all the buildings in the yard are burning beautifully, and the basin quite destroyed.

December 15.

The business of our leaving this place is now under constant investigation in all its bearings, according to the different circumstances under which it may take place; and

I trust it will be as well done as those circumstances will admit of, be they what they may.

All our cutters are wanted to assist our going through the Dunloo, whenever the tides will allow of it. To-day the tide is at its worst, and if this southerly wind should continue and be moderate, we shall push through in a day or two. Sir R. is at least as full of humour and as pleasant as ever I knew him in my life, and Puget and I were bursting our sides with laughter with him.

December 17, 1809.

The gunboats in the Slow passage are constantly fighting with Dumonceau's fellows, who are erecting batteries. This very unprofitable and unsatisfactory warfare must continue as long as we stay, and those ought to answer for it who have by their indecision occasioned so much loss of life, &c. Several transports and merchant ships are lost, but none of the troops have yet suffered by it. The vessels lost were mostly lost purposely, I doubt not, by their mode of proceeding,—and it would be a blessing if there were no insurance. It is coming to blow another gale of wind from the S.W., and I conclude the consequence will be still more vessels going ashore, and more work for us to get them off again.

December 18.

Another gale of wind makes us rejoice that we did not all get away yesterday, for the gunboats and transports would probably have many of them foundered upon this very coast which they are so eager to leave.

The 'Blake' left Flushing to return to the Downs on December 22 or 23, 1809.

CHAPTER IV.

THE 'Blake' was at the Downs on her return from Walcheren on December 26, 1809. She was ordered from there to the Medway, and was at Chatham undergoing necessary repairs from January 26 till the end of March, during which time Capt. C. had Admiralty leave, and spent several weeks in his home in London. While at the Downs in May, he received orders to go to Plymouth, and when there was suddenly ordered to sail for Cadiz, on May 27, 1810. As the ship was expected to remain at Plymouth, Mrs. C. travelled there with her four little children: the journey was at that time a very tedious one of three whole days; and when she arrived there on the 28th, she had the disappointment of finding that the 'Blake' had sailed the very day before, on foreign service!

From Captain C. to Mrs. C.

'Blake,' Plymouth: May 27, 1810.

And thus, having ordered the ship to be unmoored, and my trunk being now packing up (noon), with a yearning heart I bid you and yours that 'good-bye' which, I trust, becomes a husband and a father.—E. C.

Off Brest: May 31.

I wrote you a short note after seeing Bayntun, and hearing from him that, alas! you were arrived at Plymouth. As to your own disappointments, dearest, increased as they will be by those of your boys, who will perhaps tear you with questions, I can make you no other recompense than by that warm affection which has so long been my greatest comfort, and which I shall cling to as the key-stone of my future happiness. Good-night.

First of June (the glorious).

I am determined to notice the anniversary of one of the greatest days England ever knew, if only in justice to 'the old noble' (as we used to term him) whose picture is now before me. But I cannot say my present feelings are quite suited to this said anniversary; for I am now disposed to think the search for honour and glory, through such illiberal treatment as most of us experience (always excepting those who being of the Honourable House, take care to vote on the right side of the question), is not worthy the sacrifices we make for it. Half the courage and perseverance which are possessed by most of my brethren, and with only half the privation, would enable a Member of Parliament to do the most extensive good to the country; and were I of that body to such object should my services be directed. I must, however, own that I value patriotism principally according to the sacrifices submitted to from that noble sentiment; and in this opinion I find myself justified by your sex, who ever love us 'for the dangers we have passed.'

Off Coruña: 9 P.M.

The first near view of this enslaved and insulted country, composed, as it is, almost entirely of fortresses, made me wish I were a Spanish Grandee, that I might take a lead in restoring it to the power which nature intended it to possess, by giving it that freedom and consequent spirit which would render it impregnable. In the hands of a Buonaparte it might awe the world, if he could but restore its navy. But it seems more calculated for *de*fensive than *of*fensive purposes; and I cannot help hoping that some Washington will rise up, and, in conjunction with a more just policy in England, that it may still be an example to the other oppressed nations of Europe. But let me descend from these ambitious feelings to my own dear domicile, where I feel myself more in my element; and with eyes blown out of my head, and limbs tired by an unusual number of turns on the poop, but with a heart full of affection for our sleeping dears and their guardian mother, again bid you good-night.

The strong dislike of Frenchmen so frequently expressed in these letters was at that period as *national* amongst Englishmen as the corresponding dislike of the English was *national* amongst the French. Of course it existed *most* strongly in the Navy and Army, whose only international intercourse was the profes-

sional duty of mutual destruction—a state of things which had been going on since 1793. Its simply professional origin was shown in the ease with which it faded away when peace gave opportunities for more personal intercourse: and when circumstances in later life connected Sir Edward Codrington in active service *with* the French Navy, he frankly accepted them as professional brethren in friendly intercourse and cordial co-operation. The inimical feeling between the English and Spanish had not had time or opportunity to take root so deeply; and the same officers who at Trafalgar would have strained every nerve to compass the destruction of the 'Prince of Asturias,' were found equally eager in 1810 to aid the Spaniards, by every possible means, in the endeavour to recover their liberties.

From Captain C. to Mrs. C.

Off Villa de Conde, betwixt Viana and Oporto:
Monday night, June 4.

I wished for you more than ever to-day, because I know nobody who would have enjoyed the scene we had this afternoon more than you, independently of the desire I always feel that we should share each other's pleasures. After coasting it along from the southward of Vigo and passing Viana—which (as it was almost calm) I took the liberty of taking a nearer view of in a boat, but without landing—we found the scenery improve very much; and our curiosity being excited by an ancient-looking aqueduct at Villa de Conde, we stood as close in as we could with safety. High, irregular, barren mountains formed the background; *hills, comparatively,* or rather lesser mountains, with Scotch firs interspersed about them, next came forward as a sort of boundary to the more level and cultivated part, which appears generally to join the sea-shore in this country; and hereabout there were more vineyards, more corn-fields, and more tidy-looking houses than we had yet seen. But whilst we were admiring this scene a fine western breeze put an end to the light eastern air which had attended us all day, and we counted 84 of the picturesque fishing boats of this country coming out in a group. It was really one of the prettiest sights I ever saw, and there was a general exclamation of 'beautiful!' And as it may be an age before this letter will set out for you, in this scene will I for the present leave you.

June 5.

We have had another very pleasing sail to-day, standing pretty close into Mondego, whereabout the country appears much more fertile and in better cultivation than more to the northward. The vessels in the river, both English and Portuguese, dressed with colours for us, and we gave them some of our martial music in return.

June 6.

To-day we passed betwixt the Berlings and the main land, but have had a rainy and squally day to interrupt the pleasure of the sail. Passing Vimiera I cannot say gave rise to feelings similar to those which were excited for Sir John Moore by the view of the ground upon which that justly-lamented general made his last sacrifice for his country. I esteem Sir J. Moore as the greatest man of my time in England, from his upright conduct through life, his very superior abilities, and his persevering devotion to his country at the expense of every private consideration whatever.

Cadiz: June 11.

After dining yesterday with Captain Sir R. King, we went to the Prado (I believe they call it), the *Kensington Gardens* of Cadiz. It is a platform over the bomb-proof which runs along the narrow neck of land on which the town is situated. The looking over the immense number of vessels which the harbour contains, and the charm of the sea breeze, give this walk its merit. The concourse of people is beyond what I could have imagined, but the most astonishing part of the scene is the total indifference to the situation, not only of Spain, but of their own particular town, which is evident in the cheerfulness of both sexes. The women are thought to be handsome by those who perhaps have lost the animating recollection of the real beauty of the English, but in my eyes the inferiority is very striking. Puntales and Matagorda are nearly within even point-blank shot of each other, and a constant salutation betwixt these two points does not interfere with the proceedings of Cadiz at present in the least: nor could it be supposed to be a besieged town by any person contemplating the conduct of the inhabitants. Toffino's chart of the harbour is much more confined than it should be, as the anchorage in which most of the men-of-war now are, which we know to be without the range of shell, but which by his chart would be very assailable, proves. The Carraccas, which lie far within Matagorda (looking from this ship), are in our possession, as well as the whole Isla de Leon, which is fortifying very strongly; whilst the enemy hems us

in upon the sea-line close to St. Pedro. But it appears to me that this place, with the sea open to it, may hold out to eternity.

Cadiz: June 18, 1810.

On Friday last I went to make my visit to Graham.* The road is along the narrow neck of land which connects this place with the Isla de Leon, partly paved, partly sand very deep, and the pavement in some places much broken; added to which a moderate breeze from the sea, which would be agreeable on account of its coolness, blinds one with the sand from the beach. The town, whimsically called Isla, consists of one long wide street, composed of large and *nominally* fine houses, with some short narrow streets running across it at right angles. Graham is lodged in the house of the Governor of Isla (Alvear), who commanded the 'Mercedes,' but was on board the ship of the Spanish Commodore when Graham Moore† made his attack on them, and who lost in the 'Mercedes,' by her blowing up, *his wife, seven children,* and the immense property with which he was returning to his native country. Our Ministry consoled him by a donation of twenty thousand pounds of the money obtained by that most abominable proceeding, and he consoled himself by bringing here an English wife, who, I am told, is rather an agreeable woman. Graham appears to be in his element, and not to think of anything but the duties of his station; and it would be very satisfactory to his English friends to see him in so admirable a position for repelling any attack which hereafter may be made on him, although they would not be very much gratified, I think, by the best accommodation his house would afford them after visiting the fortifications. A mere and miserable mattrass and tiny pillow upon a bare bedstead, in a high barn of a room, with whitewashed walls, and unprovided with even a looking-glass by way of furniture: assailed by heat, fleas, and mosquitoes—notwithstanding the sacrifice of all that cover for them without which an English apartment would not be thought habitable—forms the only dormitory he has to offer. My gallop in the evening, and a visit to the family of some marquise who neither spoke French nor English, had well tired me, but I could not get much sleep notwithstanding. We rose at five, according to Graham's custom, and as soon as breakfast was over renewed the attack, and the day being cool for this climate, we saw the Carraccas, the advanced posts, and all that was to be seen on that side, before one o'clock. In

* Afterwards Lord Lynedoch. † Afterwards Sir Graham Moore.

the evening I returned to my own bed, and rejoiced that I had seen all that could induce me to sleep again at Isla. Graham is, as he ought to be, quite an enthusiast, and will, I doubt not, do credit to the army he commands if ever he is put to the trial. In the centre of the Isla there are two considerable elevations, which no army could well pass to approach Cadiz, and which are now so well fortified by the English as to be very formidable to the best-prepared assailants. But before the enemy reaches these posts he has several works to contend with of extremely difficult access, and the approach to which must be made over ground peculiarly unfit for the transport of artillery. When I expressed my admiration of the position of the two hills first mentioned, G. exclaimed: 'It is the most beautiful spot in the world, and the imagination could not have found ground more adapted to the purpose.' Its *beauty*, you are aware, consists in its being so absolutely bare that not a molehill would check the destruction which his sanguine imagination pours forth on the enemy. However, I feel great comfort in having witnessed the strength of the English position, the popularity of Graham, and the advances which are making in the Spanish and Portuguese troops. The latter are more forward in appearance and discipline, but the former are very fine young men, and will, I think, make good soldiers if they are well officered. I do not, however, think that either the Carraccas or St. Pedro, which points are both to be defended by the Spaniards, show any great judgment or ability in the works erected for the occasion.

General Lacy, who is thought both able and active, is gone with about twenty-five hundred men to Algesiras, to ascend the Sierra de Ronda, where there are many more ready to join him, and from thence to threaten the enemy hereabout in his rear; and as these young Spaniards are in pretty good training and very fine-looking fellows, I am very sanguine as to the good effect likely to follow. Indeed, as it will probably be quite a surprise, I hope it will oblige the French to retire long enough for us to destroy their works.

June 28.

Yesterday four deserters came over in a boat from Matagorda. They state that the troops have had no pay for twenty-two months, and that they feel very uncomfortable for want of a full allowance of bread; that Victor (Duke of Belluno) has continued to command here the whole time, and that Lefebvre has not been in this neighbourhood at all; that they have no Spaniards assisting them, and that they are not at all unhealthy, which the deponent attributed to

hard work and light fare; whilst the army of Germany was sickly, from nothing to do and plenty to eat. But the material point for us to attend to is the conduct of the people in power here. The result of the best information which I can collect here is, that the Junta of Cadiz, who hold the purse of the Government like our House of Commons, are men of patriotic feelings as well as of pecuniary substance; that they are jealous of the Regency with great reason, and that their dislike to them has been made evident. There are doubts if Castaños will willingly resign the presidency at the stated period for his doing so (shortly, I believe) to his proper successor, who is supposd to be more inclined to favour the popular cause. In this case we shall have a disturbance, perhaps, out of which much good will, I doubt not, arise, and, I trust, without any counteracting evil. For Blake, who commands the troops here, besides being their best general, is really a patriot, and must therefore wish to get rid of the power assumed by the grandees and their hypocritical avowal of attachment to Ferd^{d}. VII., which has, in my mind, done such serious mischief to the Spanish cause. Out of any discussion which may take place whilst we have the power to keep the French from interference in it, much good must arise; for during such time the edict which forbids the speaking against the Government, must be suspended in its execution; and some bold truths, requisite for the attainment of that liberty to which the people are entitled, will no doubt be divulged, and excite a very general sympathy in those who have the power to provide a free government for themselves if they choose to exert it. The will and the means to do what is necessary, are in the country, but they are kept back by the false ambition or selfishness of those who have heretofore been considered as of more importance than they will be, I trust, some time hence. The Regency some time ago told the Junta that a sum of 5,000 dollars would be required to be raised. One of the Junta directly answered, addressing himself to the others: "We need not surely call upon the people (oppressed as they are at present in a pecuniary point of view) to pay a sum like this whilst we ourselves are in such affluence. I will readily subscribe one hundred, and I am sure many of you will readily give your fifty each.' The money was all sent to the Regency immediately. This shows that there is some spirit in those who are capable of carrying on the affairs of Government; and it is therefore in such hands, and not in those who have merely hereditary rank to value themselves upon, that I wish to see the power. The policy of the Regency seems to be to send away such men as Alberquerque, who,

with equal rank, may rival them in power, and at the same time to exclude from governmental authority all who have not what is termed noble blood in their veins. It seems this Regency did actually invite the Duke of Orleans here, which they dare not own, and, on the contrary, endeavour to create a belief that it was the English who invited him. Luckily, the ball given by Mr. Wellesley came just in time to show, by his exclusion, that his coming was not the act of the Court which he represents. The truth will, however, come out probably, and the Regency will, I hope, lose ground in proportion. Thus, my dear Jane, do I write you all I know, as well as all I feel, being in my mind the most just, as well as the chosen depository of my knowledge and my feelings, upon all subjects in which I take an interest.

Amongst my *wants* is a velvet cap to keep the flies from tormenting my old bald pate whilst I am reading or writing. But, after all, my wants, 'proprement dit,' are confined to a letter assuring me of the well-being of yourself and your four invaluable charges.

June 29.

I had yesterday a pleasant dinner-party, one of whom was Ariase, captain of the Spanish frigate 'Cornelie,' who delighted me by the free and bold avowal of the most patriotic sentiments. He showed a love of his country and a detestation of her internal as well as external enemies, which excited all our admiration. I am sure there are many such here; but they dare not yet avow themselves. The circulation of such sentiments would secure Spain against the world; and no language (as Ariase showed us) is more adapted to this than the Spanish.

June 30.

Mr. Vaughan (Secretary of Legation) tells me the Cortes will certainly meet in about a month, and some change must, I am sure, take place. The times will become very interesting, and I shall sympathise warmly with the true patriots. A free government in this country would give it proper energy, and make it the best security for England also against any attack of despotism, internally or externally. God bless you.

July 8.

Our enemy plays a few tricks about Rota and St. Lucar, for want of more active exertion in the Spaniards for the protection of their own trade. *Our* boats, with those of the 'Eagle,' recovered a Portuguese felucca a few days ago, and since that an American brig was brought off in the night,

after an unsuccessful attempt to rescue her in the day, in which I had one man killed, and there were four or five others, belonging to different ships, wounded, including Lieutenant Carron, of the 'Eagle.' Undrell* has rather taken too much to this himself, and yet I do not like to stop him, lest he might lose an opportunity of distinguishing himself advantageously.

The species of delicacy which is a *sine quâ non* in England does not seem to me to be observed in any other country, and our women are repaid for it by an esteem and a respect which is not in vogue here. There is quickness of intellect, great liveliness of expression, and exemplary good humour in the Spanish women, notwithstanding their inquisitive disposition to jealousy; but I believe it is not considered requisite that they should ever take up a book.

Cadiz: July 17, 1810.

At present the more annoyance the French give this place the better for the general and future good. It is much more agreeable to an indolent Spaniard to believe that all is going on for the best, than to give up his cigar and his siesta and sacrifice his ease; and nothing short of a very strong conviction that he will gain more of these luxuries in the end, will excite in him anything which an Englishman would call exertion. I speak, however, of those only who are above the lower orders. That the peasantry, as well as many other classes of the *bees* of this country, have a readiness to undergo the greatest privations, combined with an activity which the enemy has found extremely harassing, is evident; and I do believe that if they were properly led, the peninsula would soon be free of the French altogether. But they have so often suffered by the treachery, indolence, and even cowardice of those under whose banners they enrolled themselves, that they now trust only to what they can do in small independent parties, confiding in each other.

And as the French have adopted the bad policy of treating the natives in a most cruel manner, these small parties deal destruction on them whenever the opportunity offers, with patriotic inveteracy. The batteries formed by the French in this neighbourhood are all closed behind, and they have others, further in their rear, similarly constructed, in fear of an attack which the *Walcheren Expedition* has secured them against most effectually. Had Graham *ten* instead of *under seven* hundred English, we might change the face of affairs

* First Lieutenant.

here; and had Lord Wellington ten thousand more than he has, perhaps Ciudad Rodrigo would have put a final stop to the advance of Massena. It still holds out most nobly, but will fall, only to show of what heroism these people would be generally capable were their efforts better directed. There is, I hear, a probability of the French themselves suffering great privations from the devastation they have made in this neighbourhood, fertile as it is. Shall I tire you with such a dish of politics in such a scrawl? It will, however, show you that I continue to make you share in whatever most interests my feelings; and there is not a heart in Spain or England more congenial to real patriotism than yours, which thereby secures it my everlasting attachment.

Cadiz: August 2, 1810.

. . . You need not fear any discontent in my ship, for, first of all, I require no more quickness and activity than I can obtain by fair and just discipline; and I would not continue to command any set of men who were evidently discontented with my regulations, even if I found that those regulations could not be dispensed with. I value myself on the use of prevention more than cure, by never exceeding a necessary severity in the infliction of punishment, and by a ready extension of mercy whenever the circumstances will admit of it. And as your heart is so alive to all that affects my credit and character, I will venture to say that I could confidently trust the decision on my judicial conduct to a jury of those men who have received corporal punishment under my sole immediate order; and that power I entrust to no other, humane and just as my friend Undrell* is in all his sentiments and all his conduct.

. . . . . .

Colonel Pack is a rising character of great promise, and I am glad to see him employed where his ability and example may be useful. I much admire that mildness of manner which accompanies his military heroism, although I could never arrive at the practice of it. I always feel unwilling to finish my letters: it is so like the 'Good bye!' which rings in my heart to this minute, and will continue to do so until 'How d'ye do' again charms it away.

Cadiz: August 15.

I take shame to myself for not having recollected that yesterday was the anniversary of our battle with Flushing. There are two pleasing circumstances to dwell on in this case, as I trust there will be in any other battles in which I may have the honour to share,—the having gained some pro-

* First Lieutenant.

fessional credit, and the having passed through a danger without injury. In the congratulations I received from the other captains, as well as the army, I have a right to read the approbation of my conduct, and I may say, I look back with satisfaction on the conduct of the 'Blake' upon that occasion.

Cadiz: August 4.

We expect very shortly to go from hence with the Spanish ships either to Mahon or as far as the Canaries, on their way to the Havannah.

August 5.

I have this morning got orders to take four of the Spanish ships to Mahon.

*Extract from Ralfe's Naval Biography.**

In 1810 he (Captain Codrington) was engaged in the defence of Cadiz, and in the month of August was charged with the removal of four sail of the line from that port to the Island of Minorca, the rapid advance made by the besieging party rendering it necessary to provide against every emergency. And so urgent was this measure considered that the ships were hurried away in a state very unfit for sea; the provisions and fuel on board of them were sufficient only for a few days; neither their masts, yards, nor sails could be trusted; they were leaky from decay and neglect, and even from shot holes unstopped; their bottoms were so foul that they could not gain to windward even in fine breezes; and though they were fully officered, and were crowded with refugee passengers of high rank, they were destitute of men to navigate them. It will readily be supposed that the situation of the officer appointed to conduct them to their destination was one of extreme trouble and anxiety; and when it is stated that they were thirty-eight days going from Cadiz to Mahon, the difficulties and distresses experienced on the occasion may be easily imagined. The ability of Captain Codrington (who was assisted by the 'Norse' of seventy-four guns, and the arduous nature of the service, were acknowledged by Admiral Sir Richard Keats in answer to the report stating their safe arrival.

From Captain Codrington to Mrs. C.

August 6.

This is rather an arduous job, and the preparation for moving the ships is very harassing, for it is impossible to conceive anything worse than the condition in which they are: and we are obliged to supply them with provision, water,

* Vol. III. page 197.

fuel, and everything, besides sending 230 of our men to navigate them. It will lighten my cares much to see them safe out of this place, and perhaps a week's fair westerly wind would take us to Mahon.

August 6, 9 P.M.

We are at anchor far without all the shipping, in readiness against the Spanish ships can warp up to us to-morrow. These miserable ships are forced out of harbour in a harsh and unsafe way.

. . . . .

The difference appears to me to be that Admiral Pickmore would have allowed the Spanish officers a little more time to arrange their affairs. The ordering the ships of our ally, under the flag of a superior officer, to be bundled out thus, under the command of English lieutenants, whilst they continue to have Spanish captains on board them, and sail under the Spanish flag, I must own seems more likely to establish *our* names at home for zeal and activity than here for conciliation and forbearance. I shall not easily be persuaded that the service would have been anywise injured if this business, which was probably, and at all events might have been, fixed a week ago, had been sooner divulged.

August 16.

Our cruise has been a very dull one. Three days and a half of dead calm, which roasted us severely and carried us over to the Barbary shore by help of a current, was only balanced by the capture of two or three turtles and a young shark. To-day our old enemy the 'Levanter' has returned most unexpectedly, and the 'Glorioso' is such a tub and so grassy that we shall not advance anything, I fear, upon our journey until we have another change.

August 17.

An increased easterly wind has prevented our gaining any distance, and we are to-day nearly where we were yesterday, with little hopes of change or amendment.

Monday, 20, 9 P.M.

Nothing but worry and anxiety have I known since I last wrote. An unusually strong continuance of easterly wind, with lightning, squalls, &c., and a great fall of rain during one of these nights, has made it a difficult task for us to avoid being driven back to Gibraltar. The perpetual distress in these ships from splitting sails and parting ropes keeps me constantly on the wear, and the report of the dangerous condition of one of them to-day (the 'Paulo') has obliged me to send her to Gibraltar with the 'Norse,' where I think she

will arrive to-morrow if no further disaster attend her to-night. I have now, therefore, the remaining three to myself, and not the smallest prospect of any change of wind or weather. I would have sent this by the 'Norse' to-day, but literally could do no more than make out her captain's order, fearing he might not be able to get back to his ship, and the weather was so rough that he got a complete wetting in coming on board the 'Blake.'

August 22.

Yesterday the easterly winds blew so strong and put on so determined an appearance that I decided to bear up for Gibraltar; and now, this morning, it has fallen to a nice light breeze and fine weather. But as the glass still keeps up, and my convoy can do nothing without a fair wind, I shall persevere towards the Rock until I meet with a westerly wind, and I rather hope to reach it to-morrow. Sir R. Keats, upon receiving the account of my return to Gibraltar in the third week of my absence, instead of having (as he hoped) by that time finished my business at all the three places to which I am destined, will begin to think that a few days' preparation for such a trip would not have been thrown away. The captain of the 'Paulo,' in his statement to me of his ship's miserable condition, begins by observing that he had not the time to report her situation to his admiral before we put to sea. And the captain of the 'Glorioso,' which was warped out by ——'s zeal in such a hurry, actually asked where they were going to take her, and desired permission to wait on his admiral and report their proceedings, as he had no orders or instructions about the matter. Surely this is not consistent with Sir R.'s order about *a kind and conciliating demeanour*.* I shall take the opportunity of explaining fully to the captains of these ships that I had no part in this hurry further than being a joint sufferer with them.

August 23.

Yesterday evening a light S.W. wind, which seemed to promise well, made me again turn my head towards Minorca. A calm succeeded at night, however, and this morning what little wind we have had was from the eastward, so that without the power of going either way, I have only to lament coming thus far back to no purpose. Besides this, I am most terribly annoyed by the drunkenness, &c., which has taken place with my people in the Spanish ships.

* 'As the ships are in every respect Spanish, and will have on board each a captain and other officers, &c., &c., it is strongly recommended to observe the greatest delicacy of behaviour towards them,' &c.—*Despatch of Sir Richard Keats*, August 5, 1811.

Friday, August 31.

Calms and light airs, too scanty in quality and quantity, have only just enabled us to recover the ground from whence the easterly gales before drove us; and we have not even now, after the expiration of that month which was to have seen our return to Cadiz, surmounted half our distance. It worries me much, I must confess, and yet I try to be as patient as a Spaniard. This comparison, however, will not be very suitable just now, for I hear the lady passengers in the ships are hardly put to it in many respects. Their whole stock has run out long ago, and they are so very numerous that mine, which has become very limited, will not allow of my doing much for them. I yesterday sent each ship a good proportion of fat pork, which they enjoy, and some 'soft tommy,' and I some time ago sent them some mutton, &c.; but mutton will not keep more than two days, and the two English sheep I have left I wish to keep for colder weather. My stock of poultry is reduced, I believe, to about four fowls and six ducks: but if we can once get the length of Carthagena, we shall always be in the reach of supply ahead or astern, and both Ivica and Majorca, I fancy, are good foraging places. But we have 'marquises' without clean shifts as well as with empty stomachs, and if a reasonable opportunity were to offer, I would touch at some place on their account. Last night we were teazed by being too close to the shore in a calm, and were obliged to cast off the 'Glorioso' and tow both ships with boats; and when a breeze came and we again got the hawser, we had the misery of seeing it die away to a calm again. We now make the band play from seven in the evening until towards ten, for the benefit of the ladies in the other ships as well as our own, and it is a great gratification to us. Music certainly conveys our thoughts homeward in a very pleasing manner: and as our thoughts, poor forlorn devils, must go there, the manner of their conduct is material. Much of Johnson's observation respecting sea life I fully subscribe to, and the coarse addition imputed to him respecting the 'worse company' I might also agree in, were it not for Undrell's being so much more cultivated than common, as well as more right and reasonable in his general conduct.

Up comes the ship to her course again, with the old 'Glorioso' in tow, and I must leave you to devote my attention to the zephyrs. I have put B. in charge of a watch this cruise, which will be of great service to him: but his fire is like that in steel, and requires the flint to make it sparkle.

Off Carthagena: September 1.

We are something further advanced than we have yet been: and I may indeed now say that if a strong east wind should again assail us, we shall secure our retreat to Carthagena and not be obliged to push for Gibraltar.

September 2.

We are past Carthagena, but the wind is light and exactly in our teeth, as we say: and the 'Neptuno,' from unaccountable inattention, is about eighteen miles to leeward instead of being close up, as she might have been with the winds of last night; and thus with the inability of one and the inattention of the other I have been constantly in a worry.

At Sea: September 3.

How curiously varied are the duties, obligatory and voluntary, of a captain of a man of war! I am led to this reflection by having, in addition to the constant minor troubles of keeping together and victualling the ships under my charge, just now had to read the burial service over a man who died of a bowel complaint, and of my having in half an hour hence, to punish another man at the gangway; and after praying in this solemn and expressive language, probably before noon is announced some neglect in the work going on may irritate me to swear like a trooper! I wish I could correct myself of this blackguard practice: but I do really think it impossible for any man to be alive to all the nicety of management requisite for this situation, without being subject to irritation; and perhaps with such a despotic power as we possess, it is as well for those subject to our lash that we sometimes swear ourselves into the wrong, and by being conscience-smitten, pass by without other punishment, as venial, some of those errors which perpetually surround us. However, I must say for myself that I never proceed greater lengths for any mistake than damning a fellow for a fool, or such like, and probably he suffers much less by the oath being directed at him, than I do by the irritation it costs me in the utterance.

Thursday, September 13.

On Tuesday night we reached the mouth of Mahon harbour, and as the Spanish ships had neither of them a pilot for this place to which we are bound, although they had them for other places with which we had nothing to do, and I was anxious to find them all close to the place in the morning, I anchored them. I should certainly have run in by moonlight if they had had pilots. However, in the morn-

ing the squalls which threatened us early after anchoring began to increase; the 'Glorioso' drove, and cut her cable for safety, and after standing out to sea, could not fetch in again, and was still without a pilot; the 'Neptuno,' to which I sent one of the only two pilots which I believe the port produces, parted her cable in attempting to weigh, cast the wrong way, and after getting sail made and standing out, missed getting into the harbour; and the 'Justo,' by slipping her cable, as I desired her by signal, and having the other pilot on board, pressed all sail and got in *to a minute*. The weather then became very bad, and a gale was evidently approaching, and I therefore stood out with a heavy heart to renew my care of these ships, which I knew had only two days' provisions and water. What made this failure the more distressing was that the 'Téméraire' and her two three-deckers, of whom we had gained a day's sail, by bringing this wind with them passed in with flowing sheets whilst we were in the midst of our difficulties, and were snug in the harbour about half an hour before. By the shift of wind and severity of the squalls, the getting in became impracticable. After buffeting these sudden and violent changes for some hours, we bore up to take shelter under the lee of the island, where we still are (9 P.M.) and thereby not only escaped much of a serious gale last night, but were enabled to water and provision the two ships this morning. It was a great relief to me the 'Justo' getting in, as she actually had not bread for yesterday's serving; and yet I have missed no opportunity whatever of keeping them as complete as circumstances admitted of. It would not be very unreasonable to expect to get in to-morrow; but I have met with so many disappointments that I cannot venture to call hope in to my consolation. Few nights pass over my head, I assure you, without my being able to say with propriety, 'Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.'

Mahon: Wednesday, September 19.

This single name, Mahon, says a great deal; not, indeed, that all my miseries or growls are over, but that I am relieved from a burden which has long borne most heavily upon my shoulders.

On Saturday morning the old 'Glorioso' again gained an anchorage off the mouth of this harbour; and the next morning, after we had begun to warp in, the 'Neptuno' did the same, and with great exertion we warped the whole three ships a considerable way up the harbour before night. On the Monday morning we got these two alongside the

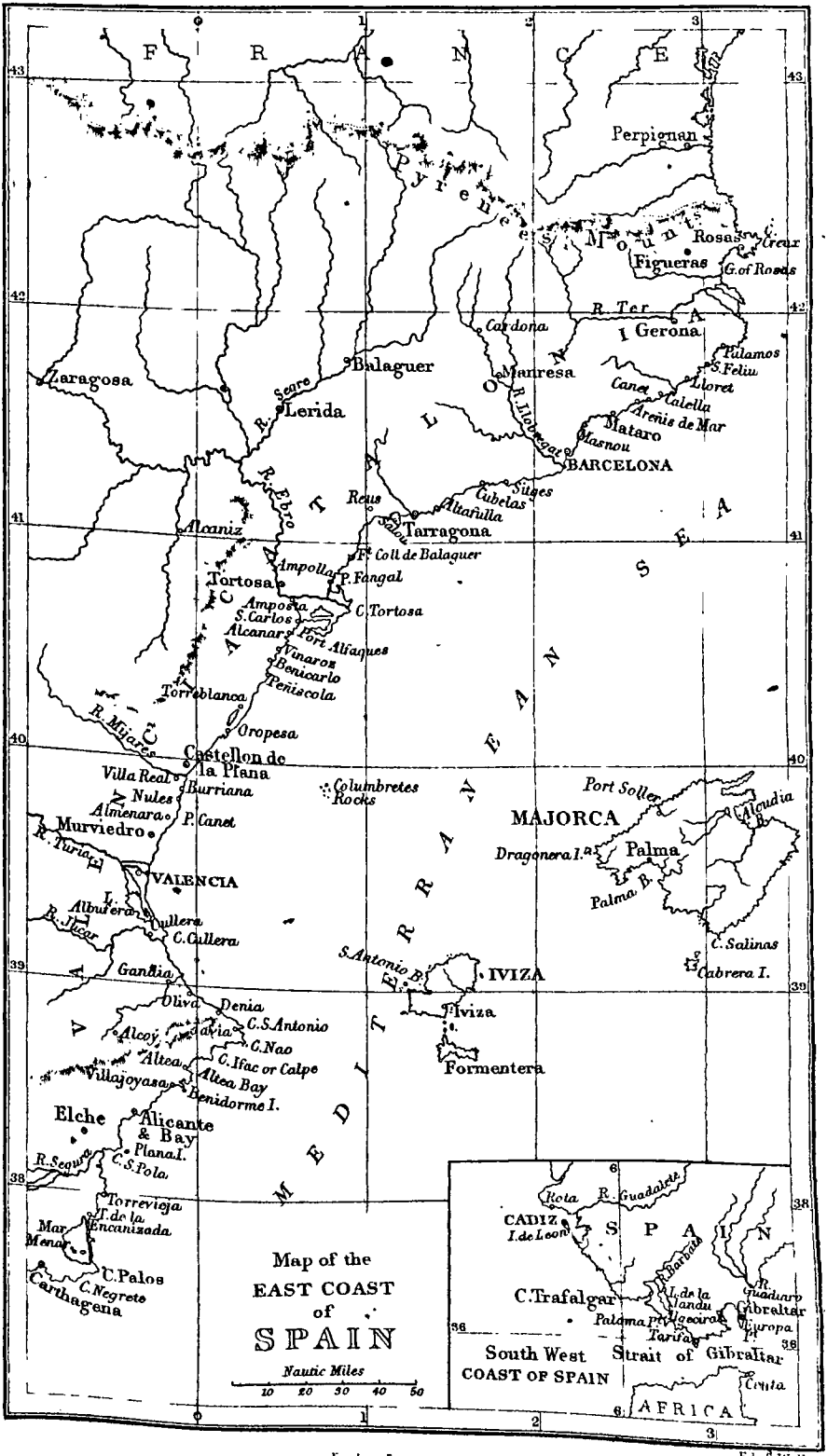
'Justo,' in a snug corner called Cala Figuera, from whence I hope they will never move again. This is the most delightful harbour I was ever yet in, and I prefer being here to being at Cadiz in most respects; indeed, in all which concern the ship. Brooms, holystones, fruit, vegetables, good water in plenty, and fresh beef, recommend Mahon greatly. Moreover, I can here, I trust, let the people go on shore without much loss or suffering. The town is very pretty, and more cleanly than anything I have seen out of England, the market well supplied, and both horses and asses to be had for exercise and amusement. On Monday we went to the convent on Mount Toro, *the* lion of the island. From its summit we commanded the whole circumference, and were much gratified; but I could not signify my assent to the term *beautiful*, which I heard applied to a mere extent of rock without one single *tree*, and without anything to recommend it as land but its very irregular undulated form and its fertile interstices. The olive tree, the mulberry and the fig mix only in size and appearance with the wild shrubs which *seize* possession of the little earth which is found in the crevices of the rock. That the little earth which, comparatively, is to be found on the island is singularly productive is proved by the quality, as well as the quantity of corn, fruit and vegetables, which are regularly brought to the market. The English name is absolutely beloved by these people in proportion as that of Spain is detested. Since the revolution they have driven away the Intendant (the head collector of the revenue), and the Bishop, and they have made their port free as it was when it was in our possession; and I think it most likely that the new Intendant who is coming will share the same fate, as the Spaniards cannot now send an army to support him in their impolitic and merciless exactions.*

From Captain Codrington to Mrs. C.

September 25.

Admiral Pickmore had a dinner for the Spanish captains, and we have since dined with them at a tavern here, where the dinner was served up in very creditable style. The

* On reaching Mahon, Captain C. reported to Sir R. Keats the safe arrival of the disabled Spanish ships, and the difficulties and distresses they had encountered in their passage; and the Admiral wrote in answer, 'I beg to assure you I am quite sensible of the successful and satisfactory manner in which by your able management, and by the exertions of the officers and men under your orders, you have been able to execute the arduous service entrusted to your care.'



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number of toasts which we drank to the 'eternal union' of the two nations would be sufficient for a treaty offensive and defensive; but harmony has been the order of the day on all these occasions, although they will continue not much to like us, and we to despise them for their bigotry and inactivity, to the end of the chapter. I am, however, now going to a different scene, and to witness, I hope, at Tarragona, in General O'Donnell and his army, such exertion and patriotism as will wipe away from Spain the stigma which some of her more imbecile people have marked her with. Betwixt Blake and O'Donnell the French seem to be driven out of Murcia, and to be losing ground daily, and whilst they live we need never despair of the cause of Spain. Sebastiani, after losing two or three hundred men in an affair of posts with Blake, sent him a message that Joseph wished *to make him Duke of Murcia*. To this Blake sent the answer you might expect.

October 2.

Yesterday morning we at length got out of Port Mahon; it is a most excellent port to refit at, but certainly not the place for a fleet to winter which is destined to watch an enemy in Toulon; for it is evident by our experience that the enemy might commit much serious depredations whilst our fleet was locked up as we were.

At anchor off Tarragona: October 4.

We got to an anchorage last night in a heavy rain and thunder-storm, and this morning shifted our berth, after which I went on shore and dined with Colonel Doyle, whose conduct here has gained him great credit. The noble, *truly noble* and patriotic O'Donnell, it is hoped, will save his leg, notwithstanding the severe wound he received at his last well-merited success. He has been wounded now several times, and continued to suffer from a shattered bone until he received this last wound, which has induced him to request that he might have a successor named to the army. The Junta of Catalonia desired him to make the nomination, and he has appointed Campo Verde, whom he knows to be worthy of it, and who has since beaten and made prisoners of the French within their own confines. O'Donnell is now absolutely adored hereabout, where he acts with kingly authority. Te Deums are said for him, and he has been prayed by the whole people not to continue to expose his person as he has done, because his life is of such value to the country. He rewards the brave and really patriotic and admits of no injustice: he harasses and beats

the enemy, and punishes their partisans as they deserve. He has now, I hear, working in chains at the fortifications, the magistrates of some place, who went out to smooth the way for the French; and the enemy now finds only a few of the lower class in any place which is captured.

It is curious that this excellent general was at one time thought a *traitor* even, and quite detested by the same people who now so justly prize him. He had confided a post to one man who betrayed his trust, and confided in another who gave him false information, by which his troops were cut to pieces. He, with 5,000, marched to capture 2,000, and met with 9,000 to oppose him when he so little expected it. But in such times and under such circumstances, it is not surprising that he should have been thus suspected before his real character was known. To-morrow, I hope he will be well enough for me to see him, in which I promise myself a high gratification; but I thought it best to give you thus much of him as soon as I heard it, that no part of the history of such a man might be lost to one who, like you, can estimate his merits. For this, though not for this alone, I say 'God bless you!'

October 6.

I have seen O'Donnell, and am quite delighted with him.—'The front of Jove himself; an eye like Mars to threaten and command.' His wound is doing well, but the ball is still in the shin bone, and so also is the ball which gave him his former severe wound still lodged in the bone of the thigh. He has had many balls through his clothes in these last three months, I hear, and twice lost his hat by (I believe) musket shots. There is scarcely a man in his army who would not take his wounds in his stead with pleasure. He told us that instead of *five* the troops had burned fifteen villages *actually within the French boundary*, and killed above 500 French soldiers with the bayonet. The soldiers, when checked a little by their officers, answered, 'Consider, we are now in France!' This will stagger Napoleon himself, I think. I have spared him some of this ship's muskets, pistols, and cartouch boxes, *filled*, of which he is in great want; and if the Regency would send him more he would increase his forces to any required extent. And this hero who has done so much is only thirty-four, and his aides-de-camp, who have purchased their rank by signal acts of courage and ability, and whose badges of distinction are *wounds* received in battle, are all mere lads.

October 7.

Another interview with O'Donnell has only increased my

admiration of him. He seems only to lament his wounds because they prevent his taking more active means to drive the French out of Spain. When he first took the command of this district he had an army of 7,000 men, in want of everything, to oppose a French army of 40,000. He took the bold and decisive measure of calling out every fifth man in defence of the country; and having established this point, he consented to exempt those who required it, upon condition of some (according to their means) providing fifty muskets, others so many suits of clothing, and so forth; by which means he has brought his army up to thirty odd thousand, including some respectable cavalry, and has beaten the enemy not only in detail, but in several more extensive attacks. When Macdonald came to *devour* him at Tarragona, which he was then putting into a very capital state of defence, he marched with his troops in such small detachments as were unobserved by the enemy, until he had got 8,000 in two separate corps, in the heart, as it were, of the enemy's possessions. Doyle then slipped out of Tarragona in one of our frigates, disembarked on the coast near the rendezvous, and joined the grand attack in so rapid a way that they took the enemy completely by surprise. His army made a forced march of forty hours before the enemy knew he had moved a man; and within eight hours of their hearing of it he had gained his victory. The success of Campo Verde, in the French territory, was gained by a similar surprise, whilst Suchet was investing Tortosa a few leagues from hence. General Schwartz, who was made prisoner by O'Donnell, had the first intimation of his approach by a shot fired in the town in which he was walking with his aide-de-camp. A Swedish gentleman who came here from Barcelona yesterday, told us that the French generals in that town say openly that 'these were coups de maître, and specimens of generalship of which *they* would have been proud:' and well indeed they might be. If the army of Catalonia should continue so successful as it has been lately, Barcelona will not be much longer in the hands of the French. They are much distressed for provisions, and they can only get supplies by sending out detachments a certain distance from the town, and by means of small boats during the night. There are not more than 3,000 French there at the utmost, and they well know that the foreign corps would desert to a man if they had an opportunity; indeed, from the great privation and the want of pay, the general has good reason to doubt if the French soldiers would not do the same. And yet, whilst there is such a prospect of this country securing the liberty of all

Spain, O'Donnell cannot get a supply of arms, clothing, or money, nor even can he get answers to his letters, or instructions of any sort from what is called the Spanish Government. Our Ministers, who are guided in all their plans by fear of the House of Commons, have refused to enlist any more deserters; but Doyle, under the sanction of Mr. Wellesley and Lord Wellington, perseveres in the plan which has already produced such good effects, and offers rewards for deserters from the French army of every nation. Macdonald, principally by this means, has had his army reduced eight thousand men, and finds himself obliged to seek security in the fortifications of Lerida, instead of proceeding in his proposed work of *annihilation* of O'Donnell's army. As Doyle observes: 'If we take or kill fifty men at the expense of ten on our part, we think we have done a great thing, and yet by the sacrifice of twenty dollars a man we lessen the hostile force by hundreds, whilst our own native army is increasing and improving daily.'

October 17.

At this minute I am on my way (8 P.M.) with General Doyle and sixty-five Spanish soldiers to Peniscola, whereabout he hopes to be able to get in the rear of the French, who are advancing to Castellon and Valencia. It is altogether a very bold measure, because the people of Valencia having been infamously treated by General Joseph Caro, one of Romana's brothers, have not yet ascertained that they may put confidence in General Bassecourt, his successor; and as the Valencia army is supposed to be very inferior to the French, the people can no otherwise believe in the propriety of his thus sending away a part of his force whilst the enemy is advancing, than that being carried into effect by *Doyle* and *myself* it is not a *treasonable* line of conduct. Although a hearty God bless you! from every creature I meet in this country sounds very encouraging, I am sensible that the public expression of praise and admiration which has been so often bestowed on *us* is due to him alone in an individual capacity, and that my share is only as being *English*. Doyle is and well deserves to be, adored by them, and the reliance on him from his personal conduct, as well as being the military agent of England, does honour to the Spanish nation. When the people yesterday heard of the enemy advancing, they were doubtful about moving off. Some of the richest Valencian merchants went at night to the house of the Marquis de Uzataqui, where we were lodged, to ask if we were gone, as they intended in such case to remove their property.

The good little Marquis (who prides himself upon being

called 'el Inglese'), said we were in bed; they showed at once their doubts; he said he could conduct them to our bedrooms, and then their doubts were so completely dissipated that they declared they would not remove a single article out of their shops. This confidence in us English has induced me to take these soldiers upon this expedition, for I am sure they could not have been sent away at all without an English sanction for the propriety of the measure. When we went to a grand parade last night where the whole town was assembled, the army, I hope and believe, cheered, particularly their own new general, but the general applause of 'los Ingleses' which followed, was ours alone, and all our movements were watched and calculated upon in a surprising manner. Unfortunately, whilst General Bassecourt marched on to the top of the parade, Doyle and I stopped to inspect more minutely some of the cavalry. The Marquis, who mixed with the crowd, told us this morning, that it was judged by this that we left Bassecourt by design, and did not approve of him. However, as we afterwards walked and conferred with him in an open and public manner, I trust this bad impression was removed. But it shows in what estimation the English name is held here, and that the vice of ingratitude has no place in their hearts.

October 20.

I have read over the first part of this hastily written letter, and if I had time to write it over again I would certainly tear it. We landed our ragged troops at Peniscola before daylight on the 19th, not having left Castillon before noon on the 18th. The plan was first agitated whilst we were leaving the parade on the 17th at 6 P.M. I procured a horse, and though dark, reached the beach just before the surf was too much agitated to get off; got to the ship, which was seven or eight miles off, by about nine o'clock, and anchored her at daylight within a mile of the beach where the troops were ready to embark. The surf obliged us to keep our boats off at anchor, and we were obliged to launch the whole of them off by sixes in a few small punts, or we should have surprised the Spaniards more than we have done. Yesterday evening at six, I again landed Doyle upon the beach opposite Castillon, where all the generals were collected.

October 21.

I am now about to do that which perhaps no ship of the line ever did before, that is, to pass betwixt the little island of Benedorme (near Cape St. Martin) and the main, in which, however, there is not the least danger, or I should

not attempt it. I was told by everybody, that going into the Bay of Valencia was too dangerous for even frigates at this time of year, and yet have I been there a week and anchored in three different parts of it, seeing, instead of the reported danger, only the error of the descriptions given.

At anchor off Valencia: October 21.

Every male and female who could manage it, has visited us, and has gone home with astonishment. Even my little Marquis, who, with his family had never set foot in a boat before, went all over the ship and pronounced it a 'palacio a la mar,' and one of the priests termed it 'la Gloria,' which is heaven itself. It was generally said, that this was the first ship of the line which anchored there, but some priest told me that there was a record of a large ship being there *two hundred* years ago! We generally go by the lead as close as safety admits, and therefore, the whole country is in astonishment and delight with us. And as they all believe us to be named after their own general, we shall not readily be forgotten.

At Alicante, we shall most likely have a repetition of this visiting, and annoying as it is in many respects to have the ship thus crowded like a fair, day after day and all day long, I do not like to refuse even the dirtiest of them the inspection of my cabin. It is very remarkable, that in these parts of Spain where our Ministry have not taken the smallest pains to render any assistance, and where the people have benefited only by the zeal and voluntary exertion of individuals under no express orders from that Ministry to do so, the English name should be almost adored; whilst in the northern parts, where they intruded their mandates and their intrigues, even the whole armies sent there have not procured to our country the affections of the people. And these provinces, indebted to England for only such individual assistance, and left to their own resources by the wretched government of Spain, are the theatre of the noblest struggles, and will, I confidentially trust, become the foundation of Spanish liberty; whilst those so aided by English blood, English gold, and English ministerial intrigue, have been the scenes of treachery and of French successes. To O'Donnell and his able and gallant friend Doyle, be the hardly earned honour given of producing this effect in Catalonia and Aragon. General Blake will, I trust, shortly place Valencia in the same situation of offensive and successful warfare. Blake is a host wherever he goes, and

perhaps the fittest man* for a great command, but too gentle and too humane for the times. He is the *military father* of O'Donnell whom he pronounces the fittest man to cope with Buonaparte, and O'Donnell describes Blake as having no fault in a soldier and a general, but his natural goodness as a man. It delighted me to find their admiration of and attachment to each other so great, and not less to ascertain that Doyle had gained the friendship and admiration of every good leader in Spain. Palafox, his earliest friend, placed that reliance on him which he could not on either of his brothers at a time when that hero was almost in despair for Saragossa; and when Doyle was obliged to beg from those brothers the troops with which he was to give him the relief required. If, Palafox still exists, after, as he himself told Doyle, being pillaged of the shirt on his back, and being obliged to beg bread to eat, he exists in a French dungeon unseen by any Spaniard, and at the mercy of Buonaparte, whose agents poisoned Alvarez, the governor the defender of Gerona! For those who admire military courage, genuine patriotism, and a nobleness of soul rarely found in the most admired specimens of heroism, the situation of Palafox is absolutely heartrending to reflect on.

October 21, 8 P.M.

I take shame to myself for not remembering this morning when I dated the 21st, that this is the anniversary of Trafalgar. It is curious that I, who contributed on that occasion to the destruction of the Spanish navy, should, after many other attentions and an intercourse of friendliness, be on this very anniversary running close along shore, adorned by the Standard of England at the main, the Spanish Flag at the fore, and the Union at the mizen, and playing a Spanish patriotic tune in full band, in order to gratify these same people to whom this day five years we caused such misery and distress! If your memory should have fixed your mind on the events of that tremendous day, you will perhaps call up fears and anxieties little required for my present most innocent employment. Instead of getting into danger by passing through the channel I mentioned this morning, we could not find *less* than seventeen fathoms water, and we shall, I think, be able to anchor in the bay of Alicante to-night, notwithstanding that there is no moon and that we are quite strangers to the place. Never was there a coast which had so few difficulties in approaching it, nor ever were there

* 'Erroneous, as his subsequent inefficiency showed.'—Note by Sir E. C. written in after years.

charts and descriptions more trustworthy than those of Toffino.

October 24, 9 P.M.

We are now working out of the Bay of Alicante, which place has disappointed me very much. Nothing to see but an impregnable fortress, put, by the contributions of the inhabitants and the exertions of the governor, Yriarte, in most excellent order; and nothing to buy for myself or my dear old wife. This said old governor, Yriarte, whose appointment was procured by Doyle, was ordered by General Caro to do something which, knowing it to be wrong, he would not execute. Caro sent an officer and a guard to put him in prison; he drew his sword and told the officer that the first man that attempted to seize him should have his sword through his body; and he then told his whole guard that unless they retired immediately he would alarm the town, and leave them to the vengeance of the people; upon which they all retired. This shows courage and determination in him, however advanced in years; and there need be no fears for the safety of Alicante, where the people seem to me to speak their mind very openly. It is the finest bay I ever was in. Though open to the S. E. gales, which in winter send in a very heavy sea, there is no instance of any vessel driving on shore. The public buildings are good, as well as the works, and the shops are tidy; but they do not produce even the manufactures of their capital. I had the daughters of the Consul on board this morning to a *déjeuner*, and we were dancing (even at my age!) at 1 P.M. They were delighted, and I was therefore glad to have them; but I cannot get over my love of English minds and English manners, and therefore rejoice that I am on my way towards Gibraltar and my letters.

I am at last reading the life of Lord Nelson, which I hope will teach those 'gentlemen of England who live at home at ease' how much silent suffering, how much unobserved exertion, we sailors are put to before we have any chance of obtaining their unenlightened applauses. Hundreds have borne all that anxiety, and have kept the mind and body upon the utmost stretch for months together, as well as Nelson; but for want, perhaps, of his naturally greater abilities, and perhaps, only for want of similar opportunities, have passed through life unknown, except to a few professional friends. And yet, notwithstanding our general merits as a corps being admitted, God knows there is no injury, no insult even, to which we are not subject under every successive administration, owing to the ignorance and

indifference of the greater part of our countrymen, who so largely profit by our exertions. It is indeed, as Lord Nelson said, a most unthankful service. You will perhaps remark, as I have done, on the continued affection he possessed for his wife until time and other objects estranged his mind. Had he returned to England when he wished it, whilst his mind was full of his domestic happiness, he would, I doubt not, have been a better husband without being less a hero. Every Quixote should have his Dulcinea; but Lady N., I dare say, was as capable of keeping his ambition alive as any other woman on earth, had his intercourse with her been less interrupted. To be a hero one needs not to be a bad husband, most certainly; but I fear that, in order to obtain the lofty situation from which heroism can be adopted practically, in the mode of external warfare to which the sons of England are subject in these times, a man must possess none of those yearnings after his wife and children which interfere with all my official proceedings. And therefore, my dear Jane, never expect that your weak, loving husband will become a hero, a Nelson, until some other Lady Hamilton shall, by her wicked influence, utterly quench those feelings of father and husband which are now his pride and his consolation. My only resource will be, if ever I should become an admiral and Commander-in-chief, to petition that my wife may be allowed to accompany me as my secretary;—and therefore prepare yourself for this contingency!

Captain Codrington to Mrs. C.

'Blake,' Gibraltar: November 14.

. . . I also mean to send some drafts to Cadiz, where I hope to get the dollars much cheaper. It is infamous that the navy should lose 22 per cent. upon their bills by receiving the dollar at 5*s.* 6*d.*, whilst the army, both here and at Cadiz, receive it at 4*s.* 6*d.*, and that we should at the same time pay the income tax upon the full hundred; that is, that instead of every 100*l.* nominal pay, we receive actually only 68*l.*, and pay enormously for all our necessary sea-stores into the bargain, by way of recompense for the lessening of our prize-money.

November 15.

We have to-day had a good fag up the rock to see St. Michael's cave lighted up for Lord Valentia. Nothing can well exceed the beauty of this said cave. The variety of gothic-like pillars of petrified water, the hanging pieces which resemble icicles, the draperies, &c., which are exhibited by these petrifactions, are more beautiful even than surprising.

Mahon: December 19, 1810.

Just as I closed with the island yesterday, I saw the fleet at a great distance standing for Toulon. As I concluded, there were orders here for me, I came in, and the probability of the return of the fleet determines me to stay here, to paint, and to complete our water; after which I shall consider myself, and expect to be considered ready for anything. I am so decided in my notion that the French will make a run for Brest, that I am anxious to be in every other respect as fit to follow them as I am in will. We shall want no stimulus to follow them if they steer towards old England.

December 23.

The fleet is come into this port. A disastrous expedition to Palamos by the 'Kent,' and she and the 'Ajax,' 'Cambrian,' and two brigs, have lost many men. Captain Fane is a prisoner. Bad accounts too from Valencia.

December 23 (later).

I told you this morning of the arrival of the fleet here today. The chief has made several attempts to reach Toulon, but without success; and is returned to this port with his ships very much shaken by the gale which blew the night after my arrival here.

December 24.

This island is in a state of great ferment, and, like Sicily, the people will be obliged to invite the French for their own benefit. Villava, the governor, is an old rascal, who is goading them with the Wallon guards to discontent with us, who necessarily witness this without interference; and this said regiment is absolutely composed of French principally. This induces many people to think that when the French lead us away after the body of their fleet they will land troops and take the island.

December 28.

No person in the fleet seems able to calculate upon our movements; nor, indeed, does anyone seem to understand them when they do take place. We have our fighting instruction, which, I believe, originated in Lord Collingwood; but, nevertheless, nobody knows where or how the chief* intends to place himself in case of battle. Superior as we are now in number, perhaps this is not very material, because we shall push after them as we can, and make our attack in any the most expeditious way, trusting that our success will

* Sir Charles Cotton.

not depend upon the evolutions of the whole fleet, but upon our individual superiority. I am not fond of fighting, however desirous I may be of having a good report of me passed down to my children by those who can justly estimate my conduct; but we all wish the fleet of the enemy to push for Brest just now, as a lesser evil, in addition to whatever other motives we may have, arising out of honest legitimate desire for distinction.

Captain Codrington, on his arrival at Gibraltar to refit, was detached by Sir R. Keats to co-operate with the Spaniards on various parts of the coast, and his conduct drew from Sir Richard a further mark of his approbation in the following terms: 'I have the honour to acquaint you, that I am strongly impressed with the wisdom and propriety of your proceedings in the various services you have been employed on.'

CHAPTER V.

January 1, 1811.

A MERRY new year to my dear old wife, says her affectionate husband, sad as he feels from being so far away from her and her dear bairns!

January 4.

I am sorry to say that the French have lately reinforced their army in Catalonia by 15,000 men; and the Spaniards are tiring of their exertion and enthusiasm, since the state of O'Donnell's health will not allow him to take any further part in the direction of them. He has lately suffered very much, and is going to remove to Majorca . . . . I still think the French will make a run somewhere, and so long as it is out of the Mediterranean, I shall rejoice. The catching them, however, is not very likely; for, besides the time that will elapse before we hear of it, no small portion will elapse in addition before we are all out of this port. Most people here are in expectation of our army in Portugal embarking and getting off as well as they can, and the French must be pretty confident of success there to have sent 15,000 troops into Catalonia from the heart of France, instead of thus reinforcing the army of Massena.

January 6, 10 P.M.

I am just returned from a dinner at a tavern, given by the Spanish commodores and captains to the English admirals and captains, and am sick of hearing such loud expressions of esteem and regard from fellows who in reality hate us.

Mahon: January 26.

I fear there is now little prospect of the French making a run, since they have not taken advantage of the last hard gales; and *dull*, DULLEST blockade will be our summer process, let who will come here.

January 31.

There is a most curious circumstance, of which I have heard particulars, known to but few, which took place after

Fane's capture. The First Lieutenant of the 'Cambrian' went to Palamos with a flag of truce to see F.; dined with the French chief, slept there, and rode with him to Gerona next morning. F. was invited to meet him at the general's at dinner; and they were put on each side of and particularly attended to by the chief, as well as the other generals. Nothing can exceed the attention Lieut. Connelly met with; and indeed at that time poor Fane also. But in all such cases the French are directed by some particular object; and it seems they wanted to bargain with Mr. C., who had a *carte blanche* and was very anxious to get F. back, that in return for Fane's liberty the English should suffer *a certain quantity of flour to go to Barcelona.* He *could* not consent to this, and they would not exchange him for General Schwartz or any other man; and therefore after keeping F. some days longer at Gerona for the chance of Mr. C. bringing such a decision from his superior, he was removed to Perpignan; as I presume on his way to the interior of France. The thing is curious in itself, and shows how anxious the French were to get flour into Barcelona before they succeeded in supplying it with *a month's provision for their whole army* by the corn that was taken there by that convoy, of whose sailing we had an account brought here by the 'Blossom,' two days before the 'Sparrowhawk' told us of their arrival off the place; and in consequence of which we sent the 'Tigre' and the dull sailing 'Achille' to intercept them! That Principality now feels that it is entirely abandoned by the Spanish Government, and it looks alone to English protection. And after seeing that Tortosa was given up by treachery, and Col de Balaguer by neglect and mismanagement, the army and the people have chosen Campo Verde as their chief and determinately driven out the others. O'Donnell, I should tell you, after being half mad with bodily irritation from his wound, and mental irritation from seeing things go so wrong because he was himself disabled, quitted Tarragona and retired to Majorca.

Capt. Codrington to M. le General Mathieu, &c., &c.

H.B.M. ship 'Blake,' at Sea: February 9, 1811.

Sir,—I am directed by Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, Bart., Commander-in-Chief of the British Fleet in the Mediterranean, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, requesting permission for the General of Division, Count Pino, to return to France on account of his health; and to inform you that the ungenerous treatment experienced by Captain Fane, late

captain of the 'Cambrian' frigate, in the prison of Perpignan, prevents his attending to your application. On my own part I beg leave to submit to your consideration the sufferings which a similar conduct in the English would inflict upon many of the best officers belonging to France. We can scarcely believe what we hear, that Captain Fane was pillaged of the money and clothes which were sent him by General d'Hillier's permission; and I could refer you to Captains Lucas and Jufernet, men commanding ships at Toulon, to prove that they met with a very different treatment after being made prisoners in the Battle of Trafalgar; and they were also given their liberty and sent back to France without being exchanged.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
EDWD. CODRINGTON,
Captain of H.M.S. 'Blake.'

Captain Codrington to Mrs. C.

Tarragona: February 7.

You will be hurt, as I am, to hear that O'Donnell has left his wife and daughter here, and is gone himself to Majorca. His son he has got with him. . . . . In short, the people of this place would now as readily put him to death as they would some time ago have sacrificed their lives under his command. Campo Verde, who has temporarily lost his whole property, is actually put into the chief command by the people and the army, because they have just confidence in his honesty and integrity.

He is not, however, of sufficient ability for his situation; and it appears to me that an Irishman named Sarsfield, who lately beat the French and killed great numbers of them, will shortly become one of the most conspicuous characters on the Peninsula. He pursues O'Donnell's system, and is said to have abilities; he is about thirty years old, I believe, but I have not seen him.

Off Palamos: February 11.

I am now on my station. The coming upon this sort of quiet cruise from the bustle of Mahon, is like leaving town for a country life. This of itself has some advantages in it, and I have also great pleasure in seeing, or perhaps rather, having seen, different places, which makes one more at home in conversations relating to important events. But my peep at Barcelona yesterday with the little 'Termagant,' in order to ascertain whether there was a shoal reported off there, or not,

drew upon us a very angry fire of shot and shells. Montjui selected the 'Blake,' and the town batteries the sloop, which they would certainly have struck, if they had taken a little more elevation. After we had put our heads outward, we gave them *one* of our new-fashioned elevated guns from the poop, which threw the shot into the town, to show that we *could* torment the place if we were ill-natured. By attracting their attention, however, we shall prevent their sending any of their troops from these parts to increase their army in the neighbourhood of Tarragona; and the supplies of money, clothing, &c., which are now on their way to that place at last, I hope will give the armies of Campo Verde and Sarsfield a decisive superiority over Macdonald.

February 16.

No reason is reason enough for beginning a letter to the wife one loves, or perhaps I might be puzzled for one, as I have but this very morning sent off my last. The war in this country goes on in a curious sort of way, for yesterday it would appear, by my seeing the French plunder two or three open towns with impunity, that *they* were gaining fresh successes; and yet I receive a letter this evening from Doyle, who is at Tarragona, to say that *they* 'intend blockading Barcelona very closely by land, and if I will do the same by sea, we shall limit the enemy to a scanty meal.' However, so long as the cause holds on, we may hope for its gaining advocates of a better description, and that a growing taste for liberty, encouraged by the conduct of the Cortes, will make it general throughout the peninsula. This, in my opinion, and this alone, will effectually expel the French.

February 20.

If the admiral would send two other ships off St. Sebastian, whilst I guarded the entrance of Barcelona itself, I think we could starve the place, or bring their fleet out to risk an action. It would give me very great satisfaction to be the more immediate means of its surrender to the Spaniards, because I think it would ensure the independence of Catalonia. Tarragona still keeps up its communications with Montserrat and Cardona, two points which can hold out against anything but starvation; and Barcelona, the capital, with a good port and the impregnable fortress of Montjui to command it, would secure the supplies of the whole. It is those two ports which so narrow the resources by land of the French now in Montjui; and I shall endeavour to narrow them more by sea than heretofore, by driving away their fish-

ing-boats. I have just sought a little comfort by this imaginary *entretien* with you, my best and dearest counsellor, and trust I shall lull my anxieties, and sleep the better for it.

February 25.

Bullen, in a letter from Tarragona, tells me that Campo Verde suffered a private individual to address the Junta in his presence, by saying 'that the Catalans were a brave and loyal people, and had men enough amongst themselves fit to fill the commands, and therefore need not have people sent from other parts of Spain.' This arose, I conclude, from its being understood that O'Donnell's brother was arrived to take the command. I believe I told you before that Campo Verde was named by the people, from an intrigue of his own, as it is said, and of course accepted the appointment so *offered* him. He has been warned by Doyle of the probable consequences, and he does not appear to possess abilities to carry him through his undertaking. Still I augur good from the spirit which will arise out of this thorough revolutionary conduct; and, as Buonaparte told the Poles, so I more confidently would say to the Spaniards just now, 'They have only to will to be free to ensure their freedom.' In the meantime, Barcelona has, I hear, received another month's provisions by the land escort, which I have seen plundering their way back.

In the midst of all the squabbling for mere place in the councils of England, if we could find a Ministry who would make war upon the principles of our genuine constitution, I should have no doubt whatever of the freedom of the Peninsula being eventually established. Guided by the evident laws of that constitution, which direct that war should be carried on only for the sake of our honour, our independence, our peace and happiness,—the long possession we have had of Portugal should have made us establish in the minds of the people of that country, such English notions as would make them invulnerable, without the assistance of our army. Have we bettered the condition of the people, long debased by the vilest slavery? Have we promised, or have we even led them to expect, the smallest amelioration of that condition to which we think it would be a degradation for an Englishman to submit? I believe not; and I believe also, that had Spain been cleared of the French by the assistance offered her by the English Government, she would have been less likely to attain that portion of liberty to which every genuine Briton will think her entitled, than she is even now,

after all the losses, defeats, and humiliations she has undergone.

Had the upper classes in Spain been of the same description of enlightened and liberal people which I trust we may still venture to say we have many of in England, her liberty and independence would have been established with little other bloodshed than that of her cruel invaders; but from the extent of bigotry and selfishness which prevailed throughout the upper ranks, the absolute annihilation of the greater part of them has become a necessary prelude to the emancipation of the people.

But, whatever may be the means employed by Spain for her success, England, besides her immediate assistance in this country, should apply her *naval* means of annoyance to France to the utmost extent to which it can be carried. And although we cannot catch each paltry privateer which disturbs the company of Lloyd's coffee-house, our naval means of hostility may be carried far beyond the contemplation of the country gentlemen of England. I could almost go the length of Lord Cochrane, and say, 'the English Government need only give the *order*, to complete the destruction of every maritime town in France.' Such a decree executed to the extent of which it is capable, would make a pretty set off to those of Buonaparte; and would, perhaps, work the effect of inducing master and man, instead of spies on each other, to become united in opposing the tyrant who draws upon them such extensive calamity. Nay, this species of annoyance to France, and a proper encouragement to Spain in establishing liberty at the same time, might raise a flame sufficient to melt the crown upon the head of Buonaparte himself.

February 27, Noon.

My blood is scarcely off the boil at this minute, from seeing the French plunderers to the amount of 2,500 collecting together and marching towards their own enslaved and enslaving country, without my being able to annoy them. Gun-boats and small vessels aware of their movements by communication with the people, might do wonders in such cases; whilst a few liberty-loving smugglers at the head of detached parties of peasantry might harass them from the mountains.

At anchor off Mataro: March 2.

I shall go shortly to Tarragona, to consult with Doyle and Marquis Campo Verde as to future proceedings. What the Cortes will do when they hear of the Marquis taking the

command upon the nomination of the people, I know not; but I think he has undertaken a task to which he is unequal. There are numbers of extremely fine young men at this place, who all cry out for arms although they will not be soldiers. They hate the French, and would perhaps make war upon them in their own way, as much to the advantage of the country as if they enrolled themselves as soldiers; and, at all events, as the French do not want muskets, I am for arming the people generally, in confidence that some good will come of it.

But the Spaniards are now so much used to this mode of retreat to the mountains, from whence they can watch the movements of the French, that I do not think they would lose their muskets as they have heretofore done.

March 3.

The people of Mataro are returned to their homes, just as if the French had not entered the place. They demanded 20,000 dollars, of which they got eleven, and after taking away some of the inhabitants a day's journey, they made them draw a bill for the other nine payable on the 1st April, by which time they are to return for it. I hear they have done the same at the other towns through which they have passed.

March 5.

I saw a number of the plundering French upon a hill which once had a fort on it for the protection of Tosa; and they seemed so much at their ease, and to enjoy the view of us so leisurely, that I saluted them with eight or nine shots, the whistling of which over their heads they did not like; and although we probably did them no injury, we had the satisfaction of showing the poor Spaniards that these swaggering rascals can *bob* and run from danger as well as themselves.

Hallowell will give up 'Tigre' directly she arrives in England, and refuse to serve more as a captain. But a change no doubt will give him his broad pendant, if not his flag. Out of his eighteen years' service as a captain, he has not been ten months on shore, never objected to any country or climate, and was always a volunteer for any service ashore or abroad, wherever he has been; and it should be added, that he has declined the situation of Controller of the Navy and every other civil and lucrative employment in order to serve as an admiral—his particular and avowed ambition.

Tarragona: March 12.

Things do not go quite right here, and I fear my opinion of Campo Verde will prove correct; but yet, I trust the French will find their difficulties increase, and this place will soon be so strongly fortified as to discourage the siege of it under any circumstances.

March 14.

Going from Tarragona to Majorca, I lament much not having seen a heroine of Tortosa, who commanded a regiment formed by herself during the siege. They had more particularly the charge of the hospital, as she now has at Tarragona; but her troops made several sorties to carry in the wounded, and I believe they had nine or ten of themselves killed and wounded. I understand this heroine is of a very masculine sort in appearance, and on one occasion did herself carry a man to the hospital whose thigh was shot off beside her. I forget whether or not I mentioned a family in the Ronda (near Gibraltar), consisting of father, mother, two sons and two daughters, all smugglers, who persevered in opposing the French until all were killed but the father, mother, and one daughter, who barricaded and defended their home until the enemy burned the whole together. Such was the story I heard from a General Moriatti. God save the country, say I, which boasts such genuine stuff as that; nor will I ever despair of it whilst there is such heart amongst the people.

Palma Bay, Majorca: March 16.

After being baffled a good deal by light airs, we anchored here yesterday evening, and this day I had the gratification of passing two hours with O'Donnell. I found him surprisingly well and in good spirits, and much pleased with my visit, as we mutually were by the open, frank conversation which took place upon the affairs of Catalonia, &c., &c. He seems bent upon recovering from his wound by every proper attention, solely with the view of renewing his military career, to the destruction of his enemies, both French and Spaniards. He bitterly laments the inactivity of the army of Catalonia at this time that the French are reduced in numbers; and is sensibly alive to the conduct of Campo Verde and his satellites in throwing abuse on his name. He says that he believes his wound having gone on so well is owing to his indifference whether he lived or died; for unless he is restored to a military life by the power of using his limb, he would rather die! But I can see plainly that his hope amounts even to a decided confidence. Upon parting with

him, I said, 'I hope to hear shortly that both balls are come away.' 'If they should,' said he, 'I will send them *back* to the French with *interest*.' O'Donnell speaks so openly, both of men and manners, that one hour with him gives one as much information as a week with many others. His manner seems to say at once, 'I have nothing to conceal.' I told him I was sure he had not really lost any of his popularity. He said he well knew who were the authors of the abuse that had been thrown upon him, and that if his leg was enough recovered for him to walk, he would go alone to Tarragona and turn Campo Verde and his Junta out of their situations in an hour. And he would keep his word I warrant him. He is confident, notwithstanding all the reverses in Galicia, that with proper supplies of arms, clothing, and money, he could raise 100,000 men in that part of Spain.

Mahon: March 25.

I find myself in the minority in thinking now that the French will not attack this island or consider it as an object of the first importance. But I see no wisdom in the measure, situated as they at present are, and therefore I think they will not do it; for we must all allow that miserably planned as are the expeditions of our own Government, those of the French show discernment and reason on almost all occasions. We have a report that Graham has routed Victor's army and raised the siege of Cadiz. If so, it may have a very good effect on the Spanish cause generally; and I shall be glad that Graham has been the author of so much good. The military mania is as strong on him as if he were only thirty years old.

April 3.

The 'Wizard' has brought us the account of Massena's *real* retreat, and the glorious though bloody victory obtained by Graham at Barossa. I think it will cause a scrutiny into the state of the Spanish army, and produce much good eventually. Graham's laurels are but a just reward for his zeal and devotion to the military service, which I never saw surpassed. He is quite beloved.

Mahon: April 13, 1811.

We have just had by telegraph the news of Hoste's brilliant success in the Adriatic; this is paying off the boast of the fellows with due credit. I have been in constant hope of the enemy pushing out during this succession of northerly gales, which they must know would drive us well to the south-westward. But if they *had* made a run, I think we

should have heard of it before this time. Hoste's gallant and successful conduct will, I doubt not, be modestly stated on his part; and be a most agreeable contrast to the letter of ——, which makes a success of a most disgraceful failure; as Halliday's *parenthesis mention* of his able and bold support of the little brig, is to the disgusting rhodomontade of ——. Some more French frigates are thereabouts, and it is possible they may be in a scrape also. The French Commodore, the fellow who boasted that he had searched the Adriatic for Hoste's squadron in vain with an equal force, deserted his ship and reached the shore after setting her on fire, by which 200 of his own wounded and forsaken people were blown up with the ship!

April 15.

Sir R. King tells me the Spaniards have really taken Figueras, and are going to attack Rosas.

Off Mahon: April 17.

Lord Nelson, I remember, asked Sir Robert Calder to take the entire management of the larboard division of the fleet, whilst Lord Collingwood arranged the whole detail of the starboard; which gave him (Lord N.) the opportunity of corresponding with envoys, &c., in all directions, and being, in short, the great chief he was. But strange as it is, nobody follows his example; as if it were determined by fate, that as he distanced those who preceded him, nobody should approach him in these after times; but that he should stand so conspicuously aloof from all the lesser constellations, as to make a greater impression on ages yet to come.

Off Palamos: April 20.

Upon joining the frigates, I find they have destroyed the works and brought away the guns from St. Philion, Palamos, Cadagues, and Salva. It is a most delightful sensation to me who have contemplated the advances gradually made by the enemy on this coast, to see the whole of these batteries, which used to be manned in readiness to oppose my approach, now in ruins. The enemy have abandoned Hostalrich, Gerona, Vique, &c., and Olot, at which place they lost 17 officers and 560 men; besides having 200 killed at Figueras. Macdonald has also been as unsuccessful as severe to the westward, and has thrown himself into Barcelona. All this is excellent news, and a very pretty addition to the retreat of Massena.

At anchor in Rosas Bay.: 8 P.M.

I learn by people who came off to me this evening, that

the 400 Italians who, with 200 French, composed the garrison of Figueras, helped to destroy the latter; and that the General-in-Chief, Baraguay d'Hilliers, who was at Gerona, hearing of this, collected all the force he could, and in endeavouring by a desperate effort to retake it, lost 700 more. How true these reports may be I cannot tell.*

From Captain Codrington to Sir Charles Cotton.

'Blake,' off Lorett: April 30, 1811.

My dear Sir,— . . . Hostalric still holds out notwithstanding that the supply of water is cut off; and yesterday the besieging corps was ordered to leave the investment to the Somatèurs, and to join the Captain-General at Olot. . . . I trust you will forgive my observing that the appearance of the fleet on that coast on its way back to Sicie might make a very advantageous diversion in favour of the Spanish army. I have presumed upon the liberty of a private communication in mentioning this, aware that neither my station nor any information within my reach gives me the right to judge of the movements of the fleet, and relying alone upon my zeal for the service to justify my so doing.

From Captain Codrington to Mrs. C.

May 4, 1811.

My last letter went away by the 'Blossom,' and will show the hurry in which it was written. Leisure, indeed, I never have just now, and can only catch moments to write even to you, the repository of my wishes, my thoughts, and my deeds, whatever they may be. To your affectionate breast they will always be interesting, however trifling in the view of others. We landed our marines yesterday morning, at Cadagues,

* Upon hearing of the surrender of Figueras, Sir Charles Cotton ordered Captain C. to proceed to Barcelona, take under his command the four ships ('Cambrian,' 'Volontaire,' 'Termagant,' and 'Sparrowhawk'), 'and employ them in a manner best adapted to intercept and prevent, if possible, all communication between or with places in possession of the French, and to afford all the assistance in your power to the commanding officers on shore at Tarragona and other ports upon the coast in possession of the Spaniards, and generally to assist by all the means in your power in the annoyance of the enemy and protection of H.M. Allies.'—San Josef: April 18, 1811.

On the 25th April, Sir C. Cotton wrote, referring to a suggested landing to be made from the squadron on the coast to act with the army, 'I leave the arrangement of your co-operation to your own zeal and discretion, and have implicit confidence in your acting with that effect, and at the same time caution, your local knowledge of existing circumstances may suggest.'

under the direction of Captain Thomas of the 'Undaunted,' who accompanied them to a position on a high mountain, where they were conspicuously placed in order to form a *diversion* in favour of the Spanish army who were about to attack the French near Figueras. After taking a peep up the hill, I returned and moved the ship close to Rosas Bay. When I reached within sight of Rosas I saw the whole country in the neighbourhood enveloped in smoke—shells, cannon, and musketry, all at work together. It was a very fine though awful sight: but we were too far off to judge as to the success of either party, and I am even yet ignorant of the result. In order, however, to complete my part as well as possible, I placed the ship within long shot of Fort Trinity, and was gratified by seeing our shot reach them whilst theirs fell very short of us. They consequently left off, and we only wasted a few random shot to complete the *diversion*. Let me tell you that this is a very agreeable way of fighting, and suits my taste extremely. For somehow or other, notwithstanding that fighting is my trade, I have always found a little anxiety to know whether the first shot or two coming from an enemy were to hit me or not; and if the shot fall short the conviction of one's safety is, you know, rather more decided than if the first shot should whistle over one's head as if calling another after it. I heard young Corbet say very quietly and coolly, in his Irish accent: 'That shot'll hit me.' I suppose he thought he saw straight down the muzzle of it, as is usually the case, until use teaches differently. The battle, at about 6 P.M., seemed to finish at Figueras, having continued without intermission and with apparently increasing heat to the last, ever since 8 A.M. The people of Escala brought me off *reports* of its being favourable to the Spaniards, and I anxiously hope to hear it confirmed from Campo Verde himself this morning. In order to keep up the attention of the enemy I continued to telegraph to my friend Thomas on the mountain: particularly as I observed a considerable corps enter Rosas, which I hoped had been drawn from the main army by our manœuvres. Accordingly, as if to make generals of us at once, about 400 men came from Rosas this morning at daylight to the attack of our less than 200, whose strength, or rather weakness, I took some pains to expose by way of temptation. Thomas attended to my positive order to retreat and re-embark; the enemy came on to the town of Cadagues upon seeing his ship run out of the port, and I suppose chuckled at the notion of being so near driving the English *into the sea* as actually to drive them *into their boats*. After they had all passed the hill, although I

knew by signal that our people were all snug on board, I made the signal to Thomas to occupy their attention, and moved my own ship there as quickly as possible. The 'Undaunted' tacked, ran straight into the port of Cadagues, anchored, and blazed away at the enemy who were just on the outside of the town. I pushed on to open a valley between the rocks to the eastward, but finding the enemy were sheltered in the houses, worked round again and anchored at the mouth of the harbour. I then despatched some fishermen to say that unless the *French* left the town the *inhabitants* must, as I should fire upon it directly: and I desired Thomas would throw a few threatening shot over it. This had the effect I promised myself, and as the fellows ascended the hills the frigate worked them successfully, the 'Blake' giving a few deliberate shot also. Another piece of my naval generalship was sending the whole of 'Blake's' marines in the boats to make a feint of landing, where, if the enemy came to oppose them, her guns would bear to advantage... Whether they came for that purpose or not I can't tell, but there they were, and there they were fired upon both by the ship with her guns, and by the marines in the boats. The 'Volontaire' came back at this moment from carrying a letter from me to Campo Verde. It was extremely pretty to see her fire a well-directed broadside *over our boats*, under her *royal studding sails*, as she passed the position of the enemy.

Cadagues: May 5.'''

I still know nothing positive about the battle of Figueras, which has been renewed to-day, whilst the 'Blake's' quarter-deck was covered with the people (high and low) of this place dancing their own country dances. We were visited by many of the paysannes, who carried water up the mountain on their heads (à l'Espagnole) for our little detachment, and *insisted* also upon taking up the provision which was destined for the shoulders of our Johnnys. I had also the satisfaction of receiving the thanks of the town for the *care* with which we attacked the French who were sheltering even under its houses and walls, only one single shot having struck a house which happened to be at the back of a little hill where the French had placed a guard. And I believe this very shot was fired by the *commodore* '*in persona*,' from the launch. The people who had nerves to bear the whizzing over their heads, stood upon their house-tops, spectators of the whole scene: such was their confidence in our dexterity and in our desire to avoid doing *them* any injury. Another proof of their confidence is their begging *my permission* to trade with

other parts of Spain, as a security against Minorquin and other privateers; and to us they look also for justice when pillaged by these marauders. The French commander told a person of the town that he should drive away the English, who came only to plunder the place; to which, I am told, this person answered: that, on the contrary, 'the commodore himself brought one of their own privateers to them for trial who had robbed them of four sheep.' There is certainly a satisfaction in assisting a people who appear so really grateful, and few, I believe, would take more pains to deserve their gratitude than your husband, who, nevertheless, wishes (oh, how anxiously) that he were alongside his dear old wife. Good night.

May 7.

Last night I received a letter from Campo Verde, to thank me for my efficacious co-operation, in which he says that his success was complete in the morning, but that the enemy deceived him by a perfidious flag of truce, during which suspension of hostility he moved his artillery amongst some olive trees, and concentrated his forces so as to occasion the Spaniards *some* loss in infantry. He adds that the enemy outnumbered him in infantry considerably, but that he has, nevertheless, made many prisoners and brought away several horses. This is not a very satisfactory account, nor will his printed detail, which he promises me, be to me much more so. The real history I cannot get at, although I have heard the various reports which are current at the different places from whence the battle was *heard* and *seen*, and now from two deserters, one *French* and one Italian, who were actually in it. The Spaniards do not tell the truth, and the French lie horribly. My Italian deserter has just told me that he is sure he saw 2,000 Spanish prisoners marched towards Perpignan after the first day's battle; it was renewed partially the second, and more generally the third. Campo Verde has retired to Olat, which *looks* as if he was *worsted*; and the French have sent strong parties to all the coast towns hereabout to see if we had landed troops. I see nothing more to be done here but to blockade Rosas and pinch the French for provisions, of which their army is now in want. These deserters have had no pay these two months, and say they have lately led a life of misery. Remember, the little affair detailed in this letter is only for yourself, not being worthy notice to anybody else, and mentioned to you more as amusement than anything else.

9 P.M.

About an hour ago I received a letter from Campo Verde,

pressing me to go to Tarragona, as the enemy have made a movement towards that place; and just now another from his aide-de-camp, to beg I will assist in transporting troops from Arcas and Mataro to defend it. I expected something of this sort, but trust it can be in no real danger. Nous verrons.

Tarragona: May 11.

I got here early yesterday morning with the whole convoy, about sixty feluccas; and the Spanish frigate, which was to come without waiting for the convoy because Campo Verde was in a hurry, arrived the last of all. I offered to receive him and his forty stinking myrmidons, but to my joy he declined, because the frigate was already prepared for him. I anchored at Mataro about eleven o'clock on the 8th; the troops arrived at four, and were all on board about seven. Some of the vessels were on the beach and the others pretty near, and my boats all waiting in readiness. There seemed to be many difficulties about who should have prepared particular troops for particular vessels, and many cigars to be smoked before any one of the staff would discover that it was his duty to make a beginning: and I therefore, without further ceremony, counted off twenty, and ordered them into each cutter, thirty into the large cutter, and so on to the others, and they obeyed my order to jump into them directly; nor did I allow of any difficulty as to the particular vessel, but directed the boats to put them on board any which had room for them, and then return for a fresh cargo. The truth is, that if I had not so done, they would have been still there instead of so speedily reaching this place, where they arrived so very opportunely. I met letters earnestly pressing me to come here, both from General Caro, who commanded in C. Verde's absence, and Doyle, who luckily had not set out for Valencia. Suchet's coming whilst the garrison was so much reduced was, I doubt not, a good military measure, and there is reason to suppose he was invited by some rascals within the walls. But the real patriotism of the greater part of the inhabitants, and the activity this danger has produced in them, have done wonders to the fortifications. Were the officers equal to the troops no nation would have a better army: but of the former, many who are brave are ignorant, and most of those who want neither courage nor understanding are so indolent as to be inattentive to circumstances which happen under their noses. I told Campo Verde that although the shot from the shipping reached the place where the French were working near the beach, it was impossible

to hit the people in their trenches, and that it would be advisable to annoy them with shells from a battery advanced along the beach by O'Donnell on purpose to protect the mole. He said it was not within range. I said it was within half range, and upon our going to see it this evening I found he actually *did not know the way to it!* Have I judged wrong in saying this man was not equal to the situation?

May 14.

I have agreed to go to Valencia for 500 artillerymen whom Doyle hopes to collect there, and the want of whom is seriously felt here just now.

Off Murviedro: May 18.

I have got Doyle, with *the ship load* of things, arms, clothing, &c., in order to increase the army of Valencia and induce *Charles* O'Donnell to send a part of his force to Tarragona; but the weather is too bad to land to-day, and I shall anchor until it improve.

May 19.

We are here with the ship loaded with materials to fit out men for soldiers, and I trust shall thereby get 2,000 troops sent to assist at or near Tarragona. O'Donnell, that is Henry O'Donnell, my friend, is expected to be with his brother here; and if so, we shall do well. I hear that Charles, the one who commands in this province now, is a better officer and cleverer man than his brother. Henry tells everybody so, and I hope we may shortly see the proof of it. After passing the day in a consultation at Saguntum—the famous old Saguntum, which is now re-fortified according to a suggestion of Doyle long ago—we ride on to Valencia, where we shall stay two or three days to arrange matters and get our stores on shore. From thence these things will go to different corps in Arragon, &c., &c., and it is to be hoped that in a very short period the French will find a force approaching them of which they had no expectation. The Valencian regiment now in Catalonia has distinguished itself greatly, but its army *at home* has never faced the enemy. It has disgraced itself afresh lately, and Adam lost two brass guns of his own for want of promised support, and nearly lost some of his ship's guns also, after having succeeded in all he had to do; his boatswain and seven men are, moreover, prisoners. Villacampo in Arragon, who is a capital fellow, has men actually experienced soldiers, but without arms and clothes, who will begin business at once, and I think General C. O'Donnell will consent to Doyle's plan of sending several of his troops to Catalonia. I wish some other person com-

manded them instead of Campo Verde, whose ignorance and indolence unfit him for the situation. We expect the Duke del Infantado, who is appointed, but who will not move, we hear, without cash to put things in motion; and without such aid he may reasonably doubt his being welcome. He is not an O'D., but is active although a grandee, and will improve on the present proceedings. After Valencia, we go to Alicante, for stores and artillery for Tarragona, which I have promised to carry. The seeing Valencia I shall be glad of; and if O'D. should be with his brother, I shall expect great things from this army which has before done nothing. Poor Bassecourt, after being so villanously left in the lurch by these people, was glad to return to his former command (though smaller) at Cuenca.

P.S. Perhaps this may reach you before my former one to say that Tarragona is besieged by Suchet, with a mere 10,000 men instead of fifteen which it requires. The place can't be taken if C. Verde is worth his salt; but it sadly wants the materials which I hope we shall take to it from Alicante.

Off Valencia: May 24.

The French were once near enough to this town to make an attack upon one of its gates, and considering the stimulus given to them by its riches, the deficiency in its works, and the impossibility of obtaining supplies if fully invested, it astonishes me that it did not fall into their hands. It contains many houses of a size which justifies the name of palaces, but spoilt by being subdivided into small rooms. The shops have a much more imposing appearance than in any other Spanish town I have seen; but they are still as inferior in appearance to those of London as they are in the articles they contain. I could not meet with a single map either of the neighbouring principality, Catalonia, or of Valencia itself. Nor could I procure more than one solitary dictionary of the Academy, although the only one the Spaniards consider as good. No man in *any town* of England would venture to call himself a bookseller who could not produce a Johnson's dictionary. Toffino's charts hardly known!

Off Cape St. Martin: May 25.

Doyle tells me that before the revolutions in this country, Berthier was employed upon a hill near Denia, called Mongou, in the guise of an astronomer and surveyor, with a small guard of five persons, as soldiers, three of whom were engineers, which shows how methodically Buonaparte plans his villanies. By way of contrast, I remember when Colonel

Fyers (the chief engineer of Gibraltar at the time) was politely suffered by the Spanish Governor of Ceuta to view the works, he considered it a point of honour to take no memorandum whatever of what he saw. I am not sure that we were absolutely at peace with Spain at the time, moreover; but such was his answer to the Duke of Kent, who asked him if he had any written remarks on the place. Amongst other good effects of a revolution in an enslaved country, is the bringing out of obscurity such men as the famous Rovira, the hero of San Fernando de Figueras. Colonel Rovira was a poor curate at the time of the revolution, and became at once a partisan in the desultory defence of his country. He appeared in a sort of military jacket when he came to visit Doyle, which is more finery than he usually wears. He had a round oil-cased hat, black waistcoat and pantaloons, with the alpargatas, or sandals worn by the peasantry instead of shoes; and his manner is as simple and unpresuming as his dress. Indeed he is in appearance like the generality of the *people* of this country, tall, robust, and well-made, with a good expression of countenance, which does not amount to beauty. Of all those who were concerned in the seizing the fortress, not one could have hoped for his life if they had failed—and of this they were all quite aware beforehand. Rovira's whole number was 464, partly Agueridos and partly his own corps, Expatriados, all volunteers. The former name, although more particularly describing tried people, veterans, in former times, was given, since the revolution, to a corps composed of peasants; the latter means those who left their native places when the French became possessed of them. Another body of about 400, under Rovira's command, remained as a reserve near the fortress, ready to follow up the success of the former, if they gained possession. But I must here mention that those to whom Rovira thus entrusted his life and that of his noble corps, were Pedro Pons (or Pon), a sort of chaunting novice, who contrived to become favourite servant to the French Commissary, his brother, and his brother in law; with a fourth, whose description I did not hear. This boy, who had kept up an occasional communication with Rovira during the whole time of his being in the castle, procured duplicate keys of one of the stores, which seems to have been in charge of the Commissary, and which had a door opening into the ditch of the fortress. The French had taken the precaution of building the latter up; but it was broken through without much difficulty, owing to the apparent security of that part and it being consequently unguarded. The number of the

enemy forming the garrison of the castle was eleven hundred, and there was a corps of 700 more in the town of Figueras. The moment the Spaniards entered, each officer flew to his allotted post, seized the French guard and placed his own. And after all the necessary points were so occupied, there remained only 133 Spaniards to receive and secure the 1,100 prisoners; which, although they were then disarmed, was, as Rovira himself observed, *a very nervous moment.* The whole who were put to death on this occasion did not exceed four or five, so completely were the French taken by surprise. And I have now an anecdote to wind up with which will delight you. General Guillot, the French Governor, had offered rewards for Rovira more than once, in order to get him assassinated or put into his power. When Rovira found this wretch in his possession, unarmed and bewildered with surprise, he reminded him of the base offer he had made, and told him he was the Rovira he wanted, at which the other became alarmed, as expecting the retaliation he was entitled to meet with. But Rovira said to him: 'You shall now see the difference between the conduct of "un hombre leal" and yourself. Wickedly and infamously as you have acted towards me, and although your life is now in my power instead of mine being in yours, *I forgive you.*' M. Guillot, however, has another enemy now to deal with, who will probably be actuated by very different feelings. It is said Buonaparte wishes to get him exchanged; and no doubt his object is to try him by one of those equitable military tribunals of which M. Guillot has probably himself consented to be a member, when his sanguinary master had some victim to dispose of *à l'Enghien.* If M. Guillot has ever read the character of Richard, as delineated by Shakespeare, he will see his own fate written in letters of blood: 'Off with his head: so much for Buckingham!' You will be struck by the different account I have now given of the capture of San Fernando de Figueras, and you will see how difficult it is to get at real facts. The present story is, however, from Rovira himself, who I find was a mere curate when he took up arms, as many more have done who were similarly situated, and with equal success. There is a man who still goes by the designation of 'El Cura,' who has been twice wounded, and who, in spite of the different rewards offered for his apprehension, and his description having been given out to the French army, still keeps up his intercourse with Madrid, and has, within these four months, inspected the fortifications of every place garrisoned by the French. I had before met him at O'Donnell's, and upon seeing him again in Va-

lencia, I could scarcely escape being kissed by him. Besides the objection we English have to this custom—which, however wears down to a mere hug, as I have observed lately—the combined odour of garlick and tobacco increased the dislike. It is nevertheless very pleasing to my mind to witness the impression of gratitude upon the minds of such men as these for the assistance they receive from our country in this sacred cause. And I do not believe the whole world can produce so many instances of disinterested patriotism, of voluntary ardent sacrifice of every worldly consideration, and of patient *enduring* courage in the execution of their object, as Spain has produced since the revolution. But my admiration is the more excited by the far greater part of these instances being drawn from amongst the *people*, the *substance* of the country. There is an instance of a merchant of Zaragossa, named Clementi, not only serving personally with the highest credit during the siege, but giving all his stores and all his property in defence of the place; and he is now actually penniless, with a wound that has placed him on crutches for life! Doyle tells me that after he was wounded and almost heart-broken, the very circumstance of an Englishman visiting his bedside, and brightening the prospect which appeared so darkened by misfortune, cheered his mind extremely; and the poor fellow seemed delighted with the marked attention we paid him during his visit to Doyle at Valencia, the other day. I hope to be able to procure you a set of prints of Zaragossa in its different sufferings, the sketches of which are excellent and highly interesting. Heavens! what noble proofs of female heroism did that single spot produce! Is it not then the fault of the men that the women are not equally virtuous in other respects? See a Grandee smoking his cigar, doubting which side to take in this contest, and bent alone upon sensual gratification; whilst the weaker sex, whom he contemplates as mere objects of his sensuality, are bringing their wounded countrymen out of dangers which would stagger the firmness of many of those whom nature destined to be their support and protection! There is a woman now at Tarragona, and at the Olivo (the advanced post), who served during two sieges of Gerona and that of Tortosa. There is another whom the French thought of sufficient consequence to place under an escort, after making her prisoner, and to send her to France; and there are many other instances of their being sent away with the other prisoners on account of their equally opposing the enemy. There was a young man of fortune in Ireland, named Marshall, who, inspired by the cause, came to serve

this country at the revolution, whose death would have excited the interest of anything but the base, supine sort of animal who prided himself on being a Spaniard of the higher order. After some earlier specimens of courage, he was employed in the defence of Gerona. When a practicable breach was made, Marshall took the command of the troops destined to defend it. Three times did the French attempt it, and as often were they beaten off by the bravery of their gallant opponents. Completely foiled in this, they retired, and afterwards rushed on to another breach equally practicable; but there again they met poor Marshall in the centre of the breach; and there the noble fellow was killed after again repulsing the enemy! Will you believe that the Junta would not, at Doyle's request, write his poor widow the consoling account of his conduct, because they did not know the precise place of her abode and address, although D. assured them that their letter, through the Secretary of War in London, would certainly find her? D., of course, did it himself; but how much better would it have come from the representatives of the nation he had so nobly served! I cannot help repeating the remark that the intolerant religious distinctions of the English Government have deprived us of some of the best blood which the United Kingdom produces; whilst, in unison with the very men thus banished from our service, we have been fighting the battles of foreign Roman Catholics, after having drawn our swords in favour of people of every religious persuasion, not excepting the Mahommedan.

May 29.

One of the deserters who came to me in the Bay of Rosas told me that Gerona had cost the French 30,000 men, and that they had lost 3,000 in one attack, which lasted an hour and a half. The numbers of people who visit this ship is absolutely astonishing, and the rage for so doing seems to increase. At Valencia, where the arrival of a ship of the line is quite a wonder, if not unprecedented, there were people who came alongside after nine o'clock, requesting they might come on board, merely to say they had seen her. Poor creatures, it would be very unkind to refuse the indulgence; and I must say the officers of the ship are not less desirous than myself to extend this gratification to them.

May 31.

The Empecinado, the meaning of which term I cannot get properly explained, is named Juan Martin; and his second in command, whose name is Saturnino Abuin, is called El

Mancho (the lame of the arm). In the early part of the revolution he lost his left hand in firing a blunderbuss, which burst from being loaded with *fifteen* balls; but the loss he himself sustained was considerably balanced by this same shot putting seven of the enemy *hors de combat*. In another battle he lost the little finger of his right hand, and in a third he lost the two middle fingers. But with only the single forefinger and thumb remaining, he still continues his activity on horseback, and loads and fires his musket with singular dexterity. He turns the muzzle of his carbine downwards betwixt his left thigh and the saddle, to prime, and then turns the butt down the same way, to load. He takes his aim by resting the barrel on the stump of his left arm. This is the spirit which, if properly directed, could not fail in the glorious cause of national freedom and independence.*

The still glorious and ever memorable First of June!

9 P.M.

I have taken up my pen merely to say God bless you, before I go to bed, on this day, which is amongst those which I consider so fortunate to me personally, as well as to the country.

June 6.

I was very much pleased to find Henry O'Donnell at Valencia, and doing well, the ball which had been in his thigh these two years having been successfully removed by his surgeon. In answer to my question of what I could do for him at Tarragona, he said, 'Destroy the enemies of my country.' Poor fellow! he is so anxious to be doing, that I shall not be much surprised if he accompanies any movement of his brother's army in his carriage. The carriages of this country, however, are little easier than a cart, and his wound was bleeding a good deal yesterday, in consequence, as the surgeon thinks, of another large piece of bone. Charles O'Donnell, who has been serving under Lord Wellington, speaks of him and his army as the most perfect military system which it has ever fallen to his lot to contemplate. In the early part of Massena's retreat, he left a strong corps upon an eminence (11,000 men), so situated as to induce Lord W. to make a decisive attack on it, whilst he (Massena) continued his retreat. Lord W. accordingly sent one corps on his left to flank the right of this position, and another on his right, intending with 15,000 men composing his main body, to attack the position in front. The position was extremely strong,

* Note appended later by Sir E. C.—'Anecdote not vouched for.'

having a deep ravine on its right, through which the first-mentioned corps detached by Lord W. would have to pass; and upon Lord W. observing the enemy retire suddenly from it, and yet with great regularity, he instantly ordered the retreat of the two detached corps, and secured the whole army in the lines from which it had advanced. Nobody understood the meaning of this, and all were surprised at it. At dinner Lord W. said, 'I dare say, O'Donnell, you thought me mad, and considered my conduct as very extraordinary.' 'No, my Lord, I can't doubt your having a good reason for everything you do.' Lord W. only observed, 'Depend upon it, Massena thought he had caught me.' And so it was afterwards ascertained, through an officer who deserted, that M. had returned, by a whole night's forced march, to the height immediately in the rear of the position his 11,000 had occupied; from whence he vainly expected to have fallen suddenly upon our army, divided and unconnected. There was certainly much good generalship in this plan of Massena, but undoubtedly much more in Lord Wellington; who, by his quickness of military perception, avoided the snare so artfully laid for him. Castaños's letter respecting the late glorious victory gained by the allied army at Albuera under Beresford, which is so important in its consequences, and which does so much honour to the commanding generals, gives also further proof of the abilities of Lord Wellington, by observing that the battle was gained on the precise spot pointed out by Lord Wellington as a very advantageous position.

June 9.

The supplies we landed at Tarragona the night of our arrival were so well timed, that the hand-grenades went directly from the ship, to be used against the French, who at that moment made an attack on one of the forts. Campo Verde and the set who surround him are all gone to Villanueva, in order, as they say, to collect an army on the outside, whilst General Sarsfield (Irish) has volunteered coming to defend the point of attack. He has since his arrival shown the enemy that they will meet a Tartar; but such is the infamous neglect and mismanagement of the Campo Verde horde, that he cannot hold out long without assistance in the part he commands, which is comprehended under the name of the Puerto, contiguous to the Mole.

The little fort called Francoli was defended by the young Swiss, Colonel Roten, who commanded it, with his 250 men, until he had lost 104, had all his seven guns disabled, and all his artillerymen and their two officers killed or wounded;

nor did he then quit his post, until ordered by Sarsfield at my request. Forty shells were thrown into it in one day. Sarsfield made a sortie, in which he killed 300 of the enemy, by surprising them in their trenches, at a loss of thirty of his own people. The following night the enemy attempted to storm a battery, and were beaten off, of course with much loss. However, losses in men will not deter Suchet, whose ability and perseverance are equal to his severity. Even still he may have friends in the town, as he certainly has had since his first coming. But as the houses are deserted, and the only people who wait the event, exclusive of the military, are in vessels afloat, he will have but little booty, even if he succeed; while, if a proper defence be made, as I now think it will, he will yet have great difficulties to overcome.

June 12.

I am now worrying with disappointment at the anticipated failure of a plan for the relief of Tarragona, which I fear is not likely to be executed in the way I had reason to expect. I agreed to collect all ships within my grasp at Peniscola, in order to transport 4,000 troops to succour Tarragona; and under the by me clearly understood intention of landing them at the town, in order to make a decisive sortie, I consented to embark three battalions, consisting of about 750 men each, in 'Blake,' 'Centaur,' and 'Invincible,' putting a fourth in the transports, and a fifth in the feluccas. The sacrifice of carrying so large and so dirty a set is not trifling; but the prospect of having them detained on board, because the general, Miranda, thinks by his instruction (or by his inclination, probably) that it is better to wait and consult, and take the enemy in flank, makes me feel as if a deception had been passed on me, in order to extract from me the pledge I have given, that I would see them back to some part of Valencia; and the deep responsibility which I have thus taken upon myself hangs very heavy upon my mind.

June 13.

We contrived to land all the troops last night in the garrison. This event has animated the place considerably, and I do not now object to the plan I am actually executing at this time, of re-embarking them for the purpose of making a descent upon another part of the coast. My mind is much more at ease, at all events; and I am sure the brave people of Tarragona will give credit to my zeal in their service. The cause of Spain, let our orators at home say what they may, is the cause of England, and there is no exertion which we can make in its favour, *coute qui coute*, which will not be well employed

for our own particular good. The scene of this place is somewhat terrific to an unaccustomed eye and ear; but I suppose Sarsfield would hardly be at ease without it. All the engines of destruction were in full employment the whole of last night, and I think the result must be unfavourable to the French, as the Spaniards did not suffer by it. Most nobly has this garrison done its duty thus far.

Off Villanueva: June 14.

This said General Miranda, who commands the Valencia division, has just shown Doyle and me General O'Donnell's instruction, which so far from agreeing with what he told us the day on which we left Peniscola, is precisely all that it ought to be, and in unison with my own sentiments which induced me to give the pledge I did.

June 15, 10 P.M.

Thank God! the Valencian division is all gone from this place, and I expect they will join Campo Verde to-morrow. This letter will show plainly the hurry and worry I have been in. I often write to you when I cannot write letters of more importance.

From Captain C. to Admiral Sir Charles Cotton.

'Blake,' Tarragona: June 18, 1811.

. . . . . .

But the assistance on which the garrison has most right to place its reliance is on the army of Campo Verde, which will be united to-morrow (the 19th) on the heights of Alforge and Rise de Cols, betwixt Rens and Falsette, its right extending to Monroig. The cavalry consists of 1,000 in very good order, commanded by General Caro; the Catalonian division of about 4,500 men, commanded by the Baron de Eroles; and the Valencian division, increased by a battalion to make up the same number, by General Miranda. The whole commanded by the Marquis of Campo Verde. Some of the troops are new levies, and perhaps the Marquis may not trust them on the plain, but they may do a great deal by cutting off the supplies from Tortosa, and destroying all General Suchet's detachments. It is a curious fact that 150 horse rode out from hence on the evening of the 15th, and reached Villa Franca the next morning, to join Caro, without the least molestation. This may, perhaps, be occasioned by Suchet withdrawing so many troops on the east side, to

make up for his losses in front of the Puerto. He makes the French division believe that the Italian division is 26,000 strong, although they never exceeded 5,000; and gives out to the Italians that the French division consists of 1,100, when there is reason to believe, after balancing his losses against his reinforcements, that it does not exceed half that number. Be that as it may, Suchet continues his progress in a most astonishing manner, and one cannot be without apprehension as to the consequences. Under these circumstances the siege will not be a very long protracted one, but may depend upon the different powers of the besieged and besiegers in exterminating their opponents; and if the French eventually succeed, which General Contreras seems as likely to prevent as any man, it appears to me that they will get nothing by it, and be even unable to keep it. Whilst things remain in this critical state, I trust you will approve of my still keeping the 'Centaur' as well as the 'Invincible.' The zeal of their captains in this interesting struggle is a source of great consolation to the brave garrison and inhabitants, who look to our boats for security, if driven to the necessity of evacuating the town. . . . . .

I do not find the spirits of the garrison at all declining, and the courage they show in the guerrilla warfare is quite astonishing. I have this minute seen a relief pass through a heavy fire close to them, and just as I landed yesterday I saw a poor ragged fellow run up to a shell which rolled into a sort of tent where there were several women and children, and try to lessen its effect with sand, whilst he got the women out of the way. The shell burst, as it were, in his face, but did not touch him, although the splinters flew over our heads, who were at some distance. On account of the numbers that have been wounded within these few days, I have ordered the transports to carry as many as they can to Villanueva. The transports remaining will be in readiness for the embarkation of General Sarsfield's division, if he should be obliged to quit the Puerto; as in such case it may be wished to land them somewhere on the coast, where such a force and under such a general, by joining the army of Campo Verde, may give him a decided superiority over Suchet.

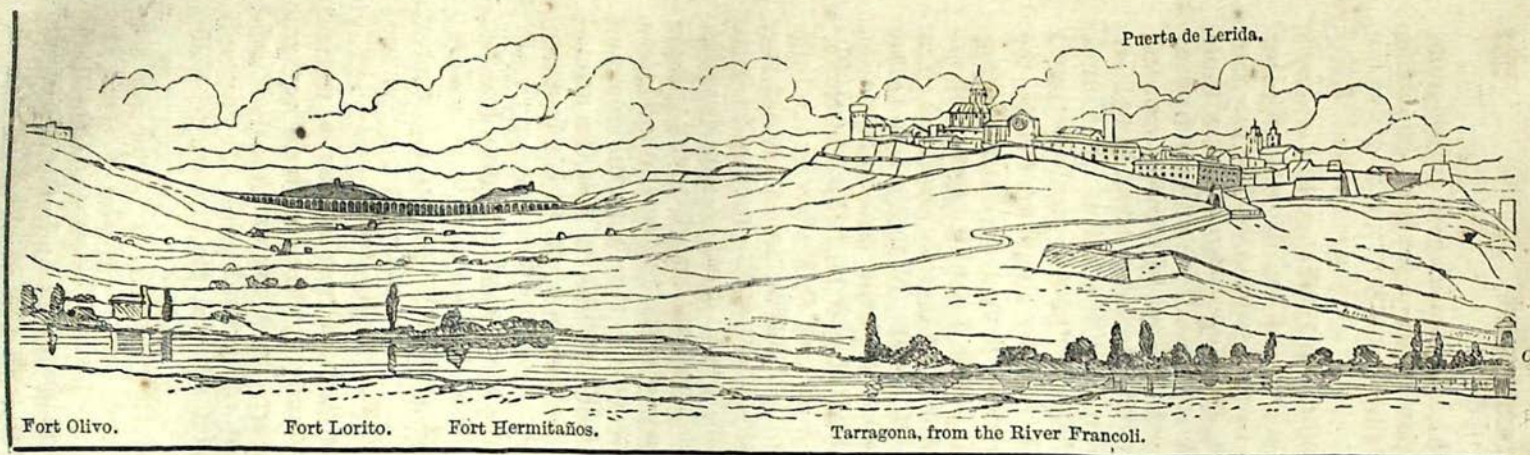
I remain, &c.,

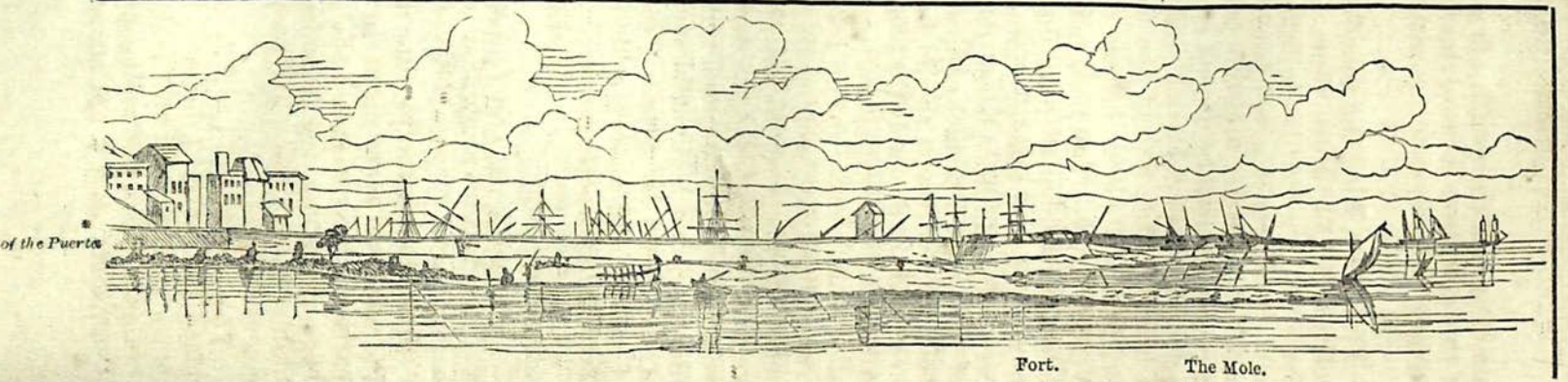
EDWARD CODRINGTON.

From Captain Codrington to Mrs. C.

Tarragona: June 19.

The French press the siege very hard; but I think we must have annoyed them very much last night with our


Puerta de Lerida.
Continuation
Fort Olivo.
Fort Lorito.
Fort Hermitaños.
Tarragona, from the River Francoli.


of the Puerta
Fort.
The Mole.

launches, and the gun-boats which I have put into the hands of this squadron because the Spaniards cannot man, or rather because they do nothing with them.

June 23.

Yesterday, I led the squadron to an attack on the enemy's position which drove them back considerably, and enabled the Spanish guerrillas to take up the ground which they had left. The French are, however, forming a battery with their usual expedition; and this brave garrison which has had to contend against the utmost efforts of perhaps the best general belonging to the French army, will probably have to defend a breach in the wall of the town in a few days. The final safety of the place depends solely on the conduct of Campo Verde's army. You need not be uneasy about my health, for I find myself equal to passing three or four nights following in my gig, and bearing more fag with impunity than I conceived I could have borne at all. My anxiety about the fate of this place I cannot express to you! It is scarcely to be believed that Cadiz should have sent us no assistance whatever, and yet probably the bombs may now be lying idle there. Admiral Fremantle has exerted himself at Mahon in sending all in his power, but if I had not taken upon myself the responsibility of keeping the three sail of the line and transports, the place would have been gone. Besides the supplies we have brought, I have sent away all their wounded, their women and children and useless mouths, which, though more silent, are not less useful services than checking the advance of the enemy by guns. I cannot describe to you the scenes of misery and distress which are borne with such wonderful fortitude and perseverance.

God ever bless you and yours!

From Capt. C. to Admiral Sir Charles Cotton.

'Blake,' in Tarragona Roads: June 23, 1811.

Sir,—Besides employing the gun-boats and launches during the whole of every night in annoying the enemy's working parties, I have supplied the garrison with above 3,000 sand bags made by the squadron, and sent all the women, children, and wounded people, by the transports to Villanueva.

The exertion and ability of the French in besieging this place has never, I believe, been exceeded, and I trust the brave garrison will still make a defence worthy the brilliant example which has been set them in some other parts of the Peninsula. But I am sorry to say the safety of the place

now seems to depend particularly upon the army of the Marquis of Campo Verde, and I fear the town will eventually fall a prey to the merciless and sanguinary enemy, who has so greatly circumscribed its means of defence.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
EDWARD CODRINGTON.

From Captain Codrington to Mrs. C.

Tarragona: June 28.

Five days have elapsed since I wrote you one single line, and yet it would have been a great relief to me if I could have thus beguiled a few of the anxious minutes from which I have now scarcely any relief. The pressure of the enemy upon this place has brought its affairs nearly to a crisis, and perhaps to-morrow its fate will be decided. The loss of the Puerto on the 21st, enabled the enemy to commence works within breaching distance. On the 26th, the 'Regulus' with some transports brought Colonel Skerrett with 1,000 of Graham's English troops and 100 artillerymen to defend the garrison. But under the joint responsibility of Doyle and myself, Colonel S. has decided not to land here, whatever he may do elsewhere. It is evidently too late for them to save the place by locking themselves up in it, and it is absolutely impossible for me to ensure their re-embarkation at such an open place, in case of any disaster. The whole Spanish army will be animated by their junction even with this handfull of English, and the chiefs press it strongly. But I will not sanction it with my advice, unless I see some prospect of effectual success arising out of it. To describe to you in just colours the scenes of horror which hourly present themselves to us, is impossible. But they all help to confirm the impression which is received by every Englishman who comes to this place. The poor wounded, the women and children, who crawl down to such little crevices of the rocks as they think will best admit of their embarkation, and there wait patiently sometimes through a whole night for the possibility of our boats taking them off, become the constant objects of the enemy's fire from such guns and mortars as will reach them. The cruel inveteracy with which this system is practised, strongly marks the character of the French and of the war they are now waging. Observe, it is at these people on the rocks that their fire is directed, when the swell does not even admit of our boats attempting to go near them; but although the firing upon our boats may be legitimate war-

fare, the doing so, when they are solely employed in carrying off the women and children, is like killing those who go out to bury the dead.

*Captain Codrington to General Graham.**

'Blake,' off Tarragona: June 29, 1811.

My DEAR GRAHAM,—Your well intended succour to this most unfortunate place arrived too late for Colonel Skerrett to execute your orders; and he has only had the mortification of seeing the place fall a sacrifice to imbecility and, perhaps treachery, without power to help it. It was agreed betwixt Doyle and myself, and without the smallest difference indeed in the opinion of my brother officers, that the then present state of the place was not in your calculation when you wrote the orders; and there was no necessity for any additional troops or artillerymen within the walls; and that the utmost good which could be derived from the landing of this division, would be the protracting the fall of the place (which must eventually depend upon the army without), some few days longer by the sacrifice of the whole division. Indeed, there was such a surf upon the coast where alone a landing could have been effected had the sea been smooth, as to make a debarkation of troops absolutely impracticable. That Colonel Skerrett might, however, the better judge himself of the fitness of our opinion, we accompanied him on a visit to the commanding general, the particulars of which visit and of the fitness of the landing place he will more fully explain to you. I am sure, my good friend, you will give me credit for such earnestness in my desire to save this place, as well as for the honour of this division of your brave army, that I could only have given the advice I did upon the strongest and most mature conviction. Having taken so leading a part in the success of this garrison, and having fondly dwelt upon the hope that the heavy responsibility I had taken upon myself would become the principal cause of that success; I am almost heartbroken by witnessing the failure of my expectations from the disgraceful panic of the Spaniards, and the unheard-of barbarity of the French, unheard-of and uncredited even of the army of this Suchet himself. For the poor Baron d'Eroles who received the sad news on board this ship this morning when he came to head the troops destined to make their way from the town to the army, I feel almost as much as for Catalonia, with which he has identi-

* Afterwards Lord Lynedoch.

fied himself. In him alone can the Principality confide its future hopes, and I place full reliance on the noble pledge he so solemnly made this morning, that his every action and every thought should be for the freedom of his country.

God bless you, my dear friend,

Yours ever most sincerely,

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

Many years after, we were talking of Lord Lynedoch —(i.e. Sir E. Codrington and Lady Bourchier):

'Graham,' said he, 'once did a very handsome thing by me—he placed two crack regiments at my disposal, leaving it to me to judge and decide whether they should, or should not be landed at Tarragona—it was a very handsome compliment to my character!

'That *was* a night! (June 26th, 1811.) I went on shore in my boat to ascertain the state of things, taking with me Doyle, and Skerrett Colonel of Engineers, and one or two others.

'When we returned to the shore for the purpose of coming off again, we found the night very dark, and a heavy swell into the bay. I stood on the projecting rock where we had landed, and the surf came up to my knees; the boat was tossed violently up and down. I called to my coxswain, Hagley, "Tell me when to jump, for I cannot see the boat." "Jump now, sir," he answered instantly. I did so, and found myself in the stern sheets of the boat with my shins broken. I then called out to the others, "Here I am, jump down upon me;" and in truth they did so. All this caused the boat to get aground, and she was fast by the stern while the shells fell thickly round us in the little bay; for the French suspected a landing of troops. Before we could get clear of the shore a shell came whistling towards us, which we all felt sure must do for us. We did our best to get the boat off. Sure enough the shell came right for us and burst in the water exactly under the boat—the explosion raised up her stern and enabled us to get her off. I then said to the officers, "Now you may tell Graham from your own evidence whether I could ensure getting the men off again if once we landed them!"

'It was very well we did not land the regiments, for the place was taken the next day; and without being able to save it they would have been obliged to capitulate.

'The only thing Graham said to me when he trusted them to me, was, "Do not put them in a situation to be taken or to capitulate."'

General Memorandum by Captain Codrington.

'Blake,' in Tarragona Roads: June 25, 1811.

Whereas, from the present distressed situation of Tarragona, many families may be obliged to embark without the necessary means of existence, until they can be conveyed to other places on the coast, where the customary generosity of the people will ensure them a share of what they may have for their own subsistence:

It is my direction that the ships of the English squadron furnish them with such provisions, for the time of their embarcation and transport, as the humanity and liberality of our country will dictate:

A separate account of the provisions so expended, is hereafter to be given to me, regularly signed by the proper officers, for the information of the Victualling Board, instead of the people being borne for victuals, as passengers generally are.

And again, when all farther exertions were rendered useless, by the surrender of the place, he issued the following notice:

'Blake,' in Tarragona Roads: June 28.

Whereas, in consequence of the town of Tarragona being taken this evening by assault, numbers of the troops and inhabitants have been received on board the different ships and vessels of the squadron, perfectly naked, it is my direction that they may be supplied with such articles of clothing as a due regard to decency and humanity may require.'*

Captain Codrington to Admiral Sir Charles Cotton.

'Blake,' off Tarragona: June 29, 1811.

Sir,—Yesterday morning at dawn of day the French opened their fire upon the town; about half-past five in the afternoon a breach was made in the works, and the place carried by assault immediately afterwards. From the rapidity with which they entered, I fear they met with but little opposition; and upon the Barcelona side a general panic took place. Those already without the walls, stripped and endeavoured to swim off to the shipping; whilst those within were seen sliding down the face of the batteries, each party thus equally endangering their lives more than they could have done by a

* The expense of the above provisions and clothing was allowed by the Government, but other expenses fell on Capt. Codrington himself, who, while on the station, expended out of his private fortune above 1,000*l.* a year, besides his pay.

firm resistance to the enemy. A large mass of people, some with muskets and some without, then pressed forward along the road, suffering themselves to be fired upon by about twenty French, who continued running beside them at only a few yards distance; at length they were stopped entirely by a volley of fire from one small party of the enemy who had entrenched themselves at a turn of the road, supported by a second a little higher up, who opened a masked battery of two field pieces. A horrible butchery then ensued; and shortly afterwards the remainder of these poor wretches, amounting to above 3,000, tamely submitted to be led away prisoners by less than as many hundred French. The launches and gunboats went from the ships the instant the enemy was observed by the 'Invincible'—which lay to the westward—to be collecting in their trenches; and yet so rapid was their success, that the whole was over before we could open our fire with effect. All the boats of the squadron and transports were sent to assist those who were swimming or concealed under the rocks; and notwithstanding a heavy fire of musketry and field-pieces, which was warmly and successfully returned by the launches and gunboats, from five to six hundred were thus brought off to the shipping, many of them badly wounded. The 'Regulus,' with five transports, including a victualler, arrived with Colonel Skerrett and his detachment on the 26th. The surf was so high on that day that we had no other communication in the forenoon than by a man swimming on shore with a letter. And upon Colonel Skerrett putting questions to General Doyle and myself upon the conduct he should pursue according to his orders, we agreed in our opinion, that although the arrival of the troops before the Puerto was taken, would probably have saved the garrison, it was now too late; and that their being landed, if practicable, would only serve to prolong the fate of the place for a very short time, at the certain sacrifice of the whole eventually. This opinion was grounded on a number of different circumstances, and was in perfect coincidence with that of Captains Adam and White. In the evening the surf abated sufficiently for General Doyle, Colonel Skerrett, and some of his officers, as well as the captains of the squadron and myself, to wait upon General Contreras, who repeated his determination to cut his way out and join the Marquis of Campo Verde *the moment the enemy's breaching battery should open*, which he expected would take place the following morning, and who agreed that the English ought not to land with any view of

defending the town, although he wished them to join in his meditated sortie.

We had still more difficulty in getting off than in landing, the sea having nearly washed me off the rocks, where I was not less than six feet above the common surface; and a more than usual fire of shot and shells was thrown on this landing place with considerable precision, under the supposition of the English disembarking that night. Even the next morning we could not have landed troops without the greatest danger; and Colonel Skerrett went to Vendrill to communicate with the Marquis of Campo Verde, and see if he could assist the cause by joining his army. He saw enough of the proceedings of the Marquis to be convinced that nothing efficient would be done: and on his return this morning found this place, which General Contreras was to defend to the last extremity or quit at the head of his garrison in order to join the army, on fire in every quarter, fast falling into ruins, and almost the whole of that garrison killed or made prisoners. And you will be still more impressed with the difficulties we have had to contend against, when I tell you that he returned with another plan of operations intended by the Marquis, totally different from all the preceding ones which were constantly changed when the time arrived at which they were to be carried into execution. I cannot conclude my history of our operations at Tarragona without assuring you that the zeal and exertion of those under my command in every branch of the various services which have fallen to their lot, have been carried far beyond the mere dictates of duty. The 'Invincible' and 'Centaur' have remained with me the whole time, immediately off Tarragona, and Captains Adam, White, and myself have passed most nights in our gigs carrying on such operations under cover of the dark, as could not have been successfully employed in the sight of the enemy. I do not mean as to mere danger, for the boats have been assailed with shot and shells both night and day, even during the time of their taking off the women and children as well as the wounded, without being in the smallest degree diverted from their purpose. It is impossible to detail in a letter all that has passed during this short but tragic period. But humanity has given increased excitement to our exertions, and the bodily strength of Captain Adam has enabled him perhaps to push to greater extent that desire to relieve distress, of which we have all partaken in common. Our own ships, as well as the transports, have been the receptacles of the miserable objects which saw no shelter but in the English squadron; and you

will see by the orders which I have found it necessary to give, that we have been called upon to clothe the naked and feed the starving, beyond the rules of our service.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.,

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

From Capt. C. to Admiral Sir Charles Cotton.

'Blake,' off Villanueva: July 1, 1811.

Sir,— . . . There being nothing more to be done at Tarragona, I moved here on the 29th, with the whole of the vessels of every description which were waiting the fate of Tarragona. . . .

It is my intention to remain upon the coast, until the crisis has passed which must throw such a damp upon the whole country; and to show the suffering people that with the fall of their principal fortress, they have not lost the assistance of England upon which they have so confidently relied in all their times of trial. . . .

I cannot conclude without expressing the great satisfaction which I receive from your sanction of my conduct. Nothing can exceed the anxiety I have undergone, and the fall of the fortress after all our hopes and exertions, attended with such heartrending brutalities on the part of the enemy, made the approbation of my endeavours to secure it a different fate, a very necessary consolation.

I have the honour to be, &c., &c.,

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

From Captain Codrington to Mrs. C.

June 29.

Alas! my dear Jane, the sad history of Tarragona is finished, and it is now fast becoming a heap of ashes. It was breached and assaulted yesterday at six o'clock, and within half an hour it was in possession of the enemy with all the garrison, who were killed by them in the most wanton and barbarous manner, except some few hundred saved by the boats of the squadron and transports under the fire of musketry and field-pieces! Some threw themselves over the walls, others stripped for the chance of swimming off to the ships; and none who appeared on the east side of the place ever dreamed of defending themselves against their butchers, who treated them as a flock of sheep destined for slaughter! This horrible event, after all the anxiety I have undergone on account of this place, has depressed my mind so much

that it is necessity alone that gives me energy to go on with the duties I have still to perform. I was overset by the distress, the manly expression of sorrow which the Baron de Eroles showed upon receiving the sad tidings this morning on his arrival on board, previous (as he expected, poor fellow), to his leading out 4,000 of the garrison in a sortie! My heart bleeds for him almost as much as for Catalonia itself, with which he is identified. On pressing my hand just now, he said,—'I repeat to you the solemn pledge I gave upon hearing of the sad disaster which has befallen Tarragona,—that my every action and every thought shall be directed to the liberty of my country!' I will only add, as time presses and this letter may perhaps never reach you, that I am strong enough not to suffer in health by all I have undergone; but that I am more than ever sensible that war with such horrors as I have lately witnessed, is not calculated for me who desire to live and die in the bosom of my family.

Off Villanueva: July 2.

The fall of Tarragona is a sad, sad blow for poor Catalonia, having lost with it the largest division of her best troops; and there is no calculating upon a termination of the ill-consequences.

Figueras, the capture of which made such a sensation, will not, I fear, hold out three weeks; for without an army to raise the blockade nothing can be done: and there are almost 5,000, some of the best troops in the world, there, which will share the same fate as those of poor Tarragona. A partisan warfare is all which can now be supported; and a change of system must be adopted before even that can be well organised. General Lacy, of whom people speak so very differently, was on board this ship yesterday on his way to supersede Campo Verde. He came up to appoint Sarsfield Governor of the canton; that is, in the stead of Contreras.* It is the old story: a good measure too late. Had this been done earlier, and the division of English sent by Graham arrived before the loss of the Puerto, all would have done well. The latter however came as quickly as possible; and nobody had a right to expect such an aid at all. Suchet reached this town whence many of the Tarragonians came away early with their property, and which has much riches

* The Spanish General Contreras, in his exposition of the Siege of Tarragona, after detailing the assistance which he received from the English, observes, 'I may say then, with truth, that if I had been assisted by the Spanish army on shore as I was seconded by the squadron of Commodore Codrington, Tarragona certainly would not have fallen.'

of its own, just after we did; and he is now levying the dollars, and seizing all the officers who escaped or came away wounded. The frigates, launches, and gunboats, must have annoyed the troops in their march (I have heard of seven officers killed or wounded) when near the place; and the launches secured the embarcation of many people who had reached the beach in time to profit by our protection. But the upper town, where the rich live, is a mile from the lower, and out of shot; and I therefore would not allow a single shot to be fired at either, because Suchet would have made our so doing an excuse for burning the town.

Yesterday I got answers from Sir Charles Cotton to my despatches, with a full approbation of all the measures I had adopted for the relief of Tarragona, and his thanks to the captains, &c. for their conduct on this service. In the hurried and anxious way in which my time has lately passed, I fear many circumstances and anecdotes may have escaped me which would be most interesting to you; but they may hereafter come out in conversation at our own fireside, which will be more agreeable to both of us. Specimens of courage on one part and imbecility on another, of the most noble humanity and the most malignant cruelty, have been passing before us in rapid succession; but although the familiarity of these scenes has lessened the impression which each would have made in more distinct and solitary cases, the contrast of domestic life may bring them forward on the memory, when from the absence of reality the picture may not produce those painful effects which arise from ocular evidence.

July 3, 8 A.M.

I have a number of poor women on board with their children, whose histories will excite your sympathy in the protection I have extended to *them* more particularly; not that these are singular cases, but because they happen to have fallen more immediately under my notice. I had been giving directions to the gun boats, &c., in a skirmish along the coast, and was returning at dusk along the beach to see if there were any unfortunate wretches still left on the rocks by the boats which had been all day carrying off the wounded, women, and children to the transports (Doyle being with me), when we came up to two women and four children, who were just about to return to the town in despair, after having remained on the rocks the whole day without food, or even water; subject to the fire of shot and shells, which were particularly directed with the most savage malignity to the spot where the poor people huddled together for embarcation.

The first we addressed was a single woman, holding the infant of the other in her arms, whilst that other, lean, miserable, and dejected, was suckling another infant, whose mother, ill, and unequal to the care of it, was taken away in one of the boats, they knew not where! The scene was really touching: but what will you say when I tell you that this poor half-existence of a woman had never seen or heard of that mother whose child she was thus fostering at a time when many a heart boasting of sensibility would have almost called Nature herself to justify her forsaking her own! There was no hesitation; they were all taken into the boat, each of the boat's crew presenting his jacket to cover them; for the little, generous creature, who so particularly attracted our attention, had two elder ones also to support, one of which was ill. My next care was to seek the lost mother, who was found on board one of the transports, and whose expression upon seeing her child with the rest of the party I shall not easily forget! But our attention was soon diverted to another object; for with the sick woman came another, who was actually delivered in the jolly boat alongside before any other help than Nature's could reach her! In short, I found it necessary to have a regular harem, including nurses. The planked place betwixt the booms with the awning over it is made a regular habitation; the mother and child joined the party there from the gunner's cabin where they were first received, and the whole are thriving and cheerful. I dare say they live better than they have lately done, indeed; but their smiles under their particular circumstances are rather surprising to us more gloomy English, and would appear to arise from that habit of misfortune which tells them that 'sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.' The woman just delivered of her daughter was abruptly told by a Spanish officer, the third day after her being on board, that her husband was killed the night before; another had to bewail her two brothers, and all my poor little protégée with her three children could learn of her husband, was that he tried to pass the French without success, and returned towards the town! What I am to do with them Heaven knows! I wished to land them here; but the French still remain, and I must not yet think of it. The numberless brutalities and cruelties committed by the French it would give you no great pleasure to hear detailed. It is wonderful how well our boats escaped upon the whole. Our barge was swamped and overset, by a shot passing through both her sides, without losing more than one woman and child, who were killed, and without any others or the crew suffering more than a ducking, with the

loss of their clothes. We even succeeded in getting the boat on board, and she was as well as ever a few hours afterwards. The officer of the boat on this occasion was Frank Mildmay, who, with all the rest of the youngsters, has, I assure you, had a fair allowance of shot, shells, and musketry over his head, during my late stay upon this coast.

July 4.

A fresh annoyance came upon me on the night of the 2nd, on which I did not calculate. The blackguard who is senior of the Spanish ships hereabout went to sea with orders for Mataro, and, after getting out of sight, bore up for Majorca, with the money, archives, and a vast quantity of ammunition which we might just now find means of getting inland, but which we shall perhaps be unable to do shortly. The same rascal refused to receive wounded Spanish officers sent in my boats, when we had no more transports left, until severely theatened by Doyle, in his character of Spanish General, and neither of them sent boats to assist until goaded into it by General Contreras, after we had taken off above 2,000.* Nay, they saw all of us weigh and engage the batteries of the enemy without moving, and having discovered the French marching to the town, I hailed one twice, and told him to go and fire on them whilst our frigates did the same, without producing on him any other effect than making him anchor more out of the way than he otherwise would. I shall certainly report him to the Admiral and Mr. Wellesley. In the meantime the poor grateful *people*, that is the *very people*, utter their hearts full of prayers and good wishes for the English, as their only support and protection. This truly deserves the name of a holy war: and cold and callous must be that heart which, seeing what I have seen, would not struggle hard for its success. I literally cannot compose myself so as to write the boys a little letter each. This appears extraordinary even to myself; but I have nothing which can be called leisure for a moment, and the encouraging that state of mind which fits me for that little task, unhinges me for the business on which I am now perpetually employed. The number of Spaniards I have to receive and communicate with, is enough to worry the Devil; and it is all owing to their unwillingness to do their duty. A young officer here to-day would not condescend to answer one of these poor women about her husband, until I insisted upon it in strong terms, and Doyle, equally annoyed, told him that, as he did not choose to be occupied by her concerns, neither did *he* with his, and he might go his ways.

* Order to Capt. Adams to bring them back from their passage to Majorca.

To Mrs. C.

At anchor off Mataro: July 6.

I have been placed in a most important situation, inasmuch as upon my conduct and decisions the fate of Tarragona *appeared* almost to depend. The stimulus given me by this conviction in my own mind, led me to take a more extensive part than came within the comprehension of my orders and instructions, and the contemplation of the success which the activity of the squadron under my orders, joined with the bravery of the garrison, entitled us to expect, gave increased strength to our bodily exertions. Judge then of our disappointment in seeing all our hopes blasted in so sudden and disgraceful a manner; being witnesses of unheard-of cruelties without power to prevent them; and finding those troops on whose courage we had just reason to rely, turn cowards in the hour of trial for want of being properly commanded! That justice will be done to our endeavours by those who hear, as it already has by those who have seen them, I have no doubt. But our good report must now be confined to a narrow circle, instead of being widely extended on the wings of success.

Off Areñs de Mar: July 7.

I believe I told you in my last of Campo Verde having written to me about embarking the troops, and reminding me of my *word of honour* in order to urge my exertions. My answer was strong as my feelings dictated that it should be, and I have just received his apology. In the meantime I received a verbal message by Col. O'Ronan, 'that he (the Marquis) also proposed to quit the country himself with all the troops, not Catalans, including the dragoons, &c., who were to leave their horses on the beach.' My answer was, 'that, although I would strain any point to restore to General O'Donnell and to Valencia the troops which had been so liberally furnished by that kingdom, that I would not embark either the Marquis or any of the troops belonging to Catalonia, which it was my duty to assist in defending, instead of depriving of that protection which it had.' Indeed, as Lacy is come to supersede him, his wish or opinion is nothing. At all events, I will have nothing to do with him, although he may have just reason to throw a part of his blame upon Miranda.

From Captain C. to General Charles O'Donnell.

H.M.S. 'Blake,' off Areñs de Mar: July 9, 1811.

My dear General—At last the remainder of your troops have again come within my reach; and as General Miranda has been on board this ship to decide on the arrangement, I may now say they will be embarked to-day. If it were dependent on me I should say it would be done in a few hours; but as it is, it will probably take the whole day. As you will know by my letter written after the fall of Tarragona, my first object was to re-embark your troops. With that view I went immediately to Villanueva where I waited four days; and at length, from the French being still there, I moved on to Mataro, and thence here.

The following part of this letter repeats the story of the behaviour of Generals Miranda and Villa Campo relating to these troops; and then continues:—

3 o'clock.

The Baron de Eroles who has just left this ship, gives us consoling information respecting the state of the principality. But there is a curious mixture of anxiety to quit in some generals, and of intrigue for power in others, which is yet likely to be the cause of disorder. The Baron says, that it was agreed by a junta of generals that he should become Captain General. To this he replied, that so long as one of them, his superior officers, remained within the frontier, he could not take the office; although he would certainly undertake it whenever they were gone, rather than see his country thrown into disorder. Just as this was settled, in comes Lacy, commissioned by the Government; upon which Eroles told him that there could now be no hesitation on his part; and that whatever influence or popularity he might possess in the country should be employed in the strict execution of his orders, with the same zeal as if he were himself in the chief command. The manner of the Baron, the expression of feeling which he showed upon hearing of the fate of Tarragona, and, indeed, his whole conduct, were evidence of the genuine patriotism of his motives. And I confess I rely more upon him than any other person whom I have seen, for establishing the freedom of his country.

Captain C. to Mrs. C.

Off Mataro: July 10.

There are, I assure you, so many noises and worries around

me at this minute, that it is impossible to write. I never refuse the people the gratification of seeing my cabin as well as the rest of the ship; and at this minute I am sitting, with a large crowd standing betwixt me and the stern windows, staring and making their observations upon me and my bald pate, as well as the rest of the furniture. The band is playing a Spanish country dance at the same time to several melting couples who are protected by the awning from a noonday sun, without one breath of air.

At present, my people have scarcely a shilling amongst them, and are moreover almost naked themselves, from having handsomely clothed those who were quite so. As most of those whom we picked up when swimming on the night of the fall of Tarragona, were without a rag to cover them, my ship's company came aft to ask my leave to give them some of their clothes; to which I consented, although it is contrary to order for any man to dispose of clothes which he has been allowed to take up from the ship upon charge against their pay. And I also ordered the squadron to clothe the naked generally, as well as to feed the hungry, for which the Navy Board may perhaps stop my pay.*

Sitges: July 16.

The French appear to be gone on towards the interior, in order, if possible, to obtain possession of the only remaining strongholds which the Spaniards have, besides Figueras, of which I have no hopes. Poor Rovira, the hero of the castle, is just gone by, I am told, on his return from Cadiz. If it fall, it will be a very cruel blow on him and his brave associates.

July 19, 8 A.M.

A late member of the Junta of Tarragona reports that 4,000 persons in arms are assembled at Manresa, and that in consequence a column of the enemy marching against Cardona by that road, changed its direction and proceeded by Calaf. That the French demanded 10,000 rations; to which the people of Manresa answered that they might come and look for what they wanted amongst the ashes of the city, which, however, they would find guarded by people made desperate by the atrocity of the French general. Thus the cruelty of the general in burning Manresa on account of its loyalty, has turned out beneficial to the cause of his

* The Admiralty gave an indemnity.

opponents: and I trust the ashes of Tarragona may still prove another such Phœnix. The above anecdote, like some others in my letters, comes rather out of its place; but you will be glad to catch it as you can, and thus I am glad to give it to you. Indeed, there are many of these interesting little events, of which I have no other memorandum.

July 19, 10 P.M.

The 'Imperieuse' brought me a public letter of approbation and commendation of the squadron from Sir C. Cotton,* and a private letter which gives me leave to go to Gibraltar. But as I am now actually under the orders of Sir Edward Pellew, of whose arrival Sir C. was not then aware, I certainly shall wait *his* sanction, though it takes away my hopes. I hear there is more dissatisfaction in the fleet than ever, and even the young men commanding frigates are sick of the service in its present harassing state. But, according to ——, '*all sailors grumble.*' Poor devils! of what sort of clay must those be composed who would not grumble after reading Mr. Yorke's speech on Bennett's motion! It is not very wonderful indeed that those who live at ease and in security without being subject to insult in return for the greatest sacrifices, should be more contented with their lot in having none but artificial wants and privations!

July 23.

I hear that the new chief does not intend sending me to Gibraltar. Sorry as I am for this decision, I am glad I did not go upon the permission of Sir C. C. and that I had notified such determination to the chief himself before I learnt his objection. The loss of Tarragona will make a very serious impression on everybody, but particularly upon one newly come to such a great command and who has yet to

* On receiving Captain C's. account of the fall of Tarragona, Sir Charles Cotton wrote to him saying, 'I highly approve of your proceedings with the squadron under your orders both before and subsequent to this event.' Adding his 'regret that the endeavours to rouse the military authorities to fresh exertions and the example set them by the naval force on the coast on all occasions when their exertions could be applied in annoying the enemy and aiding the Spaniards, had not the effect of inspiring them with energy correspondent to the true spirit of patriotism and bravery which the Catalans might have maintained under more experienced officers.'

On returning to England at the close of his command Sir C. Cotton wrote to Captain C. from Spithead, August 24, 1811:—'I have much satisfaction in acquainting you that their Lordships (Admiralty) have expressed to me their approbation of your conduct throughout the whole of your command.'

learn the very rudiments of a great part of the important duty which falls to his share. And as the discredit of such a failure is reflected more or less on all those on whose conduct its success might seem to depend, my ears and eyes are upon the stretch that I may at once counteract the effect of any such reflection. It is not to be wondered at that my mind should still dwell upon this subject; and I am turning it over in all directions to see if any effort of mine, varied according to the cruelly exemplified termination, could have averted the effect of the imbecility, cowardice, and treachery which have blasted the fortunes of Catalonia.

Off Toulon: August 4.

When off Cette last night in my way here, the ship was caught in one of the strongest lightning storms I ever met with, and, contrary to my expectations, she escaped without any other injury than splitting her fore-sail. In watching the infinitely varied and always beautiful forms in which it appeared, I think I saw as many as seven streams pass along the sky at the same flash as nearly parallel as such forky lines could do; sometimes again it was nearly circular, whilst on each side of us were dense bodies of this powerful fluid darting perpendicularly downward. It was so strong, so general, I thought it impossible the ship could escape being struck. I never in my life saw anything more beautiful or more awful.

August 7.

I like Sir Edward Pellew; and I have no doubt that attention to duty will ensure his approbation. He is a man of tried ability and courage, and I think he will give confidence to his fleet in the event of being placed in any difficult situation.

Off Palamos: August 11.

I stand apparently high with Sir Edward Pellew. Notwithstanding the state of the ship, I go to-day, after dinner, with him to the coast, and on to Valencia, to see what is doing, and to inform Mr. Wellesley of the state of affairs there. In short, I am sent to do whatever I think right and best, and am only anxious that I should do well that which is a very difficult task. At all events, it is very flattering to be so employed, and I shall strive hard to prove that his confidence is not misplaced.

Off Toulon: August 13.

I weighed at daylight this morning from Hières Bay, and the Admiral, at the same time, made the general signal for

the fleet to do so, there being a nice breeze directly out of the bay. But the wind headed us as we stood out, and I clearly foresaw mischief would happen from the 'Téméraire' passing too near the battery, because they did not try their distance on us, or on the 'Leviathan' which was nearer, in order to reserve for the Admirals, who were evidently falling nearer as the wind lessened. I dare not, however, hint by signal a thing which ought to be as evident to them as to me; and as I saw that I should escape, and had reason to think I should weather the island of Porquerolle, I stood on. However, whilst I was snug sheltered from the fort, it opened upon the 'Téméraire' and 'Caledonia,' who were both obliged to fire in return for their own protection. And the result is that, before they could be towed away, the former was struck several times, and has had eleven killed and wounded, besides the master, who was struck, I fancy by a splinter, in both heels. His name is Duncan. The 'Caledonia' was struck also once or twice, but I believe without injury. Sorry as one is naturally at any unnecessary loss or suffering, this little event will have its good effect and become a lesson for the whole fleet hereafter. When we went in, the Admiral, rather, as I think, from the *youthful ardour* of his son-in-law captain, was going to send me to destroy two frigate storeships, which I well knew were protected by many batteries. I said nothing of the batteries, which I thought would soon speak for themselves, but begged he would give me a boat to put me on board without waiting for my own. In their great eagerness they were not quick in lowering the boat, and by the time she was down, the Admiral saw enough to order me to stay where I was, and that the boat should be hoisted up again. The momentary influence which is created by the eagerness of the inexperienced, will not, I think, lead him to persevere in any of those nonsenses, as I think them, after his own sense has given him time to think. My present communications with him have placed me upon the most agreeable terms of official confidence with him. This is my aim with all my superiors, and I think I may have some confidence in my success. There are few, I fear, who act entirely upon this principle of establishing character only, without some little *lean* towards selfishness. *We* have a little method of boasting amongst us of outwitting each other, which I scout by an avowal of never attempting to outwit anybody, and preferring to be deceived by others rather than myself deceiving them. This is my practice with superiors as well as equals; and therefore, with their knowledge of my principle, I naturally gain their confidence.

Here is egotism with a vengeance! But it is rather a sort of communing with myself, and I should not write thus to any other person. I really sail under a 'carte blanche' instead of orders; for after suggesting his own notions of the service required (which are literally mine, and adopted by him from my information), the chief has sent me to do what I think best, to send my opinions to Mr. Wellesley, to take Adam again under my orders; if I think it necessary, send him to Mahon to refit, then come out to relieve me, or to go in myself, as I fancy, without any other written direction than my original order to continue in that command. I must own I am much gratified by this style of proceeding on his part, and I will strive hard to show that he has not misplaced his good opinion.

At Areñs de Mar: August 23.

In the morning I stood into Rosas Bay, and saw the tricolour flag upon the castle of San Fernando. Thus has reverted to the Vandal French that fortress whose capture gained the band of Rovira such just credit, and with it Llovra, his next in command, with Martinez, the Governor, and 4,000 good troops, including about 1,000 sick. It is scarcely yet known, but by the effect produced upon those to whom I announced it, it appears likely to be severely felt by the people in general, who so proudly rejoiced in its capture. In the meantime, however, General Lacy has certainly annoyed the French greatly by collecting large contributions of many cattle, corn, &c., in the Serdana Francese, which is actually within the Pyrenean confines of France. And he told me in this cabin to-day that he hoped to make them another visit in return for the demands made by the French in these parts. There are such very different accounts of this general that I scarcely know how to estimate his character. The English, both at Cadiz and Gibraltar, abuse him greatly. There are, however, some traits much in his favour, and he appears to me to have firmness in carrying his plans into effect, and considerable abilities. Blake, who has brought 8,000 troops with him to Valencia, is to command the armies of the three provinces (Murcia, Arragon, and Valencia) in the field. To do any good, however, he must begin by hanging all officers who run away at sight of the French, which will very much reduce his whole army. Suchet, that able and active general, is said to be already preparing for a descent into Valencia, and I dare say upon my arrival there I shall find the country in consternation. If the reports we have of a conspiracy being discovered at

Cadiz, in which many of the Cortes are implicated, be true, we shall, I trust, have those measures adopted which Colonel Pasley recommends in his most able book. I have never read anything which contains more solid, useful, patriotic sense than this said volume. And if he ever comes in your way, I beg you will take the opportunity of telling him that, much employed on this coast, and taking the greatest interest in the War of the Peninsula, as that in which we are most likely to undermine the power of Buonaparte, I see reason sufficient for agreeing in everything he says upon the subject. If I had leisure I would write to him, although I have not the honour of his acquaintance; because it would be satisfactory to him to have his sentiments strengthened by the evidence of one who is an eye-witness of the effects he describes.

Off Valencia: September 6.

I really feel that my situation in command of the squadron on this coast leads me into more trouble than ought to come to my share; and I am worried by my anxiety to do right in cases which are very perplexing, by the possible consequences which may follow a wrong determination. Upon my arrival here I received a complaint from the Marquis de Palacios of the conduct of some Gibraltar privateers (pursuing our diabolical trade on this coast) who have resisted the Spanish authority by force of arms; and whilst I have been put to the unpleasant necessity of seizing one of them for this act of violence, the old brute of a Marquis is angry because I will not deliver the people up to him. I told him that I should be very glad that *he* should catch them and hang them, in which I would not interfere; but if I seized them myself, I could never deliver them up to a foreign power, but must send them, as British subjects, to be judged by British laws. He became savage and ill-mannered; and I trust I preserved temper with firmness. I had two witnesses to what passed, made a minute of it, which is signed by them, and then answered his first application to me in writing, by repeating what I had verbally stated. By his answer to this he has, I think, discovered his error. The Intendant, by whom he ought to have been guided, says I did the *utmost I could*, and that *he* is clearly wrong. General Blake says the same, and so does every person who has heard of it. And although I have no documents to guide me, I think my conduct must be approved of. This old priest-ridden piece of tapestry has quarrelled with Charles O'Donnell; and was undoing all he had done, when Blake arrived and turned the tide back again. This produced a quarrel with Blake, who

certainly does command the whole army, which was for a short time under the orders of Palacios, and who tells me he is Captain-General, although Palacios still, in his letter to me to-day, styles himself Captain-General and Chief of the 2nd Army. This is enough to show you how things are going on here. But when I add that the friars, since this man's arrival, have preached in the streets that it is the duty of the people to rise and oppose the Cortes, or any other authority which may wish to abolish monastic institutions; that neither cannon nor gunpowder is necessary to oppose the enemy, but only prayers for God's assistance; and that although the dear English, their allies, have a good Government, they must fall for want of possessing the true Catholic faith—you will sympathise with me in astonishment and indignation.

September 11.

Mr. Wellesley writes me that my reports to Sir Edward Pellew of the transactions in Catalonia, copies of which were sent to him, were so much the best he had seen that he sent them to England. Probably their value is more in their truth and the honest zeal which dictated them than in any ability in such matters.

Off Peniscola: September 14.

There are so many claims for assistance that I scarcely know which way to go; but both my head and my heart incline me to give a preference to Catalonia, more particularly since Eroles is made Captain-General;* and as Suchet, although reported to be about to move towards Valencia to-morrow, will not, I think, pursue the coast road, I shall steer towards Areñs de Mar. It is cruel to have to combat selfishness in a war of this sort; but it appears to me that the best service which can be rendered to the country is to set the minds of the people right respecting the characters to whom they may look for support, justly or erroneously. The office is an unthankful one, most assuredly, but one is not the less called upon to undertake it if necessary; and the latter point is established by my seeing no other ready for it but myself. Blake has assured me, that he will not quit the district of Valencia until Palacios is removed, in answer to my observation that the safety of that kingdom depended on it; and if he has enforced the necessity of his removal in his letters to the Regency, as I have in mine to Mr. Wellesley, I trust we shall soon see him kicked out.

* Note by Sir E. C.—Not confirmed, owing to intrigues at Cadiz.

Off Barcelona: September 16, 10 P.M.

Just as I took up my pen, Thomas of the 'Undaunted' came on board in the dark, to tell me that Lacy and Sarsfield were already on their march by the sea, and Eroles more within land, to make a desperate attack at three in the morning, on the *town* and *citadel* of Barcelona. I have therefore turned about; and we are poking our way back by the lead to an anchorage close to Barcelona, in readiness to cover their retreat and embarkation if they should fail. Of course they must have friends within to assist them, but as Montjuy commands the town I see not how they are to secure themselves, without gaining that first-of-all fortresses also. I am quite in a state of agitation for their success: but the attack seems the more desperate from Macdonald being now on his way to re-supply the castle by a convoy from France, with 7,000 or 8,000 men, and expected to arrive the day after to-morrow. My arrival is very well timed, and the poor fellows will in either case be delighted to see me when daylight opens. Thomas is also mightily rejoiced at receiving such aid, and shaking off the responsibility of acting from himself on this important occasion. God bless you, my dear Jane, the sharer, sooner or later, of all my worries: *pleasures* I have none to divide with you upon this sort of service and thus absent from my domicile.

Mataro: 17, 9 P.M.

The Spaniards, after marching two-thirds of the way, received information that the French had a patrol party round the citadel, and therefore wisely returned. So that affair is over.

September 19.

The spirit of the Catalans rises with the increase of their difficulties; and the French will yet bury many men in this Principality. General Sarsfield dined with me yesterday, and gave me a copy of an order which he received from Contreras to embark without a moment's loss of time; and showed me the original, which I know to be in the handwriting of Contreras. And yet this fellow wrote afterwards officially that he did not know of his (S.) going; which has injured greatly the reputation of a most brave and able officer.

September 20.

Eroles, in answer to my letter telling him of his being made Captain General of Catalonia, says, that both Doyle and I must be mistaken, that there cannot be a better than Lacy, and that *he* is only fit to obey without hesitation;

that he himself is not made to command, and that the removal of Lacy would cause the loss of the Principality. I must own I do not think any change of chiefs would be for the better just now; but the help of an English division would do wonders. The chiefs are as anxious for it as I am.

September 23.

I was here interrupted to look at a large fieldwork which the French are making upon a rising ground to the north-eastward of Barcelona, which we are now passing: and the mind must turn from other things to the probable effects of a work which appears to be so well situated for overawing the country, and at the same time protecting the convoys upon the road from Figueras and France. I suppose when the French have got complete military possession of the country, and the spirit of the patriots is subdued by their continued misfortunes, England will at length begin to send troops to this warlike but ill-fated province; where they should rather have commenced their peninsular warfare, as invited, instead of forcing themselves upon the western provinces, and supporting the Junta Central, Ferdinand VIIth., and all the old corruptions. But Catalonia was the Ireland of Spain, forsooth; ever rebelling against injustice and persecution.

I sincerely hope I am working to good effect, for I assure you even with that conviction I find the employment very irksome; and without it my mind would be quite distracted.

Areñs de Mar: October 7.

Besides receiving your letters, I am in high glee just now also by ascertaining the truth of Suchet being repulsed in his attack on Saguntum (Murviedro); that Ballasteros had beaten the French near Algeziras; and though last, not least to my satisfaction, that Lacy with our Catalans has taken 900 infantry and 150 cavalry with three field-pieces at Igualada. Indeed, I trust we shall have three generals to show amongst the prisoners. *Ah, ça ira!* You know how sanguine I am, my dear Jane, in my nature, and will partake with me in the satisfaction of seeing the cause of these people successful, after standing almost alone in my opinions respecting them. I may be called speculative, I may be even thought mad by many of our sober friends in England, for still anticipating success in this cruel war; but I trust the sacrifices and exertions of this Principality will prove that my madness has not been altogether without method. But I took up my pen to say other things, and I fear I ought not to devote

myself just now to conversation with you, notwithstanding that, my heart being full, I yearn for a *tête-à-tête* with you, banishing all other considerations.

8 P.M.

I understand General Lacy previous to his attack on the French at Igualada, drew up his troops and told them that he wished to take the enemy by surprise, which could only be done by a forced march during the night of twenty-two miles, and that those who felt unequal or at all uninclined to the expedition might fall out of their ranks and stay behind; but that not a single man accepted the offer: that the body of the French army was snug in barrack, and the officers in their beds when the attack began, the advanced sentries being deceived by the answers in French to their challenge, and there being no musketry opposition until the Spaniards were close to the town; that the French, according to a settled plan, retired to a sort of fortified convent in great confusion, whilst Lacy took possession of the town. . . . I will not quit these people just now without being relieved, if I can possibly go on; but if I had not yesterday joined the 'Undaunted' my people would have had no grog or wine, and we are short of some other provisions too; and the ship herself is quite a wreck, and a miserable object to look at—except, indeed, in my own or such other eyes as would rather see a ship exhibit proofs of persevering service than of lying idle in port whilst her captain is indulging himself.

October 15.

Accompanying this you will receive a packet, which will be interesting to those who are anxious to know the merits of the events immediately succeeding the loss of Tarragona, and in which perhaps I am as much concerned as any other. I hope and trust it will appear that I bore and forbore everything for the good of the cause in which we were engaged; that I fulfilled manfully the many unpleasant duties which fell to my share; and that I became a considerable support to the Principality at the time of its greatest misfortunes. I am anxious to furnish you with copies of the whole—since I find my official letters given to public notice—that I may not be misconstrued.

Heavens! how my overcrammed head is loaded and oppressed by this subject.

> Oh! for a lodge in some vast wilderness,
> Some boundless contiguity of shade,
> Where rumour of oppression and deceit,
> Of unsuccessful and successful war,
> May never reach me more!

So wrote Cowper, and so does my heart bid me repeat. Adios.

At Villanueva: October 16.

The last affair of Eroles at Cervera is given thus: 'On the 11th October 380 French surrendered to the Baron de Eroles, with 11 oxen, 400 sheep, 1,000 quarters of flour, 700 quarters of wheat, and a great quantity of barley. The French Governor of Cervera (a deserter from the Spaniards) Perez de Comino, is amongst the prisoners. He has caused to be made an iron cage for the confinement of such Spaniards as refused the French contributions. Upon his capture, however, the Spaniards were of course liberated, and he was himself put in and sent to Cardona.'

October 16.

I have no sooner sent away a letter to you than I wish to begin another whether I have anything to say or not, just as one wishes to find an excuse for returning to bid another good-bye before a long separation. Thus it is at present with me; for my last is not two leagues advanced towards Gibraltar. With that goes some more of my public correspondence, which includes some interesting communications, inasmuch as they develope the characters of parties concerned in the fate of poor Tarragona. It cannot surprise any person that this subject should greatly occupy my attention even still, when it is considered that by the loss of the place all those concerned are liable to be implicated in the abuse of public writers and party politicians. But to you, my real confessor, into whose bosom I pour every feeling which I possess, I may be allowed the gratification of saying, that in no one instance can I by the severest scrutiny catch myself out in a momentary consideration of self-interest throughout this trying occasion, other than the truly social one of becoming a principal cause of saving the place. To have failed in this is a severe blow, and severely I assure you I have felt it; but still I trust I have not served in vain; and I hope the opportunity may yet be offered me of showing that the measures adopted by me, with Doyle's assistance, were sufficient to have insured success if others higher in power had done their duty to their country. And thus, after my little mental consolation, I bid you good-night.

Valencia: October 20.

Suchet has lost 2,000 men in his attacks on Saguntum, which, being short of guns, and I fear many other things, has made an excellent defence so far. And I trust it will hold out until the division from Murcia arrives, when Blake

will attack the enemy to relieve the castle. Charles O'Donnell, with 4,000 on the Arragon side of Saguntum, was attacked by Suchet, with 7,000, but made his retreat good across the river, killing many of the enemy, and losing some ten or twelve of his own people. Blake has about 13,000 and Suchet 15 or 16,000.

October 21, 1811.
(Being the anniversary of the glorious battle of Trafalgar.)

I cannot pass this day over without a line to her who suffered so much anxiety on my account, in consequence of the tremendous conflict which has established its repute for so long as the name of Nelson shall live in the grateful remembrance of his country. I am indeed (9 P.M.) passing a night of luxury compared with that which succeeded our victory, when all the elation which so proud an event should inspire was worn down by the difficulties which began to present themselves,—into a wish that I were snug at home with my family. I am now on my way from Valencia to Peniscola, and thence to what we now familiarly term *our own coast* again. I judged right in thinking our coming would be useful in giving spirits to the people; and I anchored at the Grao of Murviedro and saluted some out-pickets of French with a couple of platoons from the lower and main deck guns, to cheer up the Castle of Saguntum, which must have watched our operations. These platoons which I have introduced make the French very nimble, I assure you. They do not mind one gun at a time, thus distant, but a number of shot thrown at the same time to nearly the same spot can hardly fail of producing effect; and it is very satisfactory to Johnny to see the earth thrown up like a shoal of whales spouting water. Saguntum has stood several desperate assaults, added to what shot and shells the enemy have been able to direct against it, with the loss of only fourteen men killed and wounded, as far as the 21st; nor have all the losses of the Spaniards in any way opposed to Suchet on this occasion, passed a few hundred, including the garrison at Oropesa, which cost a siege after destroying many French, and the battle of Charles O'Donnell with 4,000, whom Suchet, with 7,000, tried to cut off from passing the river; whilst the army of Suchet, since leaving Tortosa, is certainly lessened by 2,000 killed and wounded, and is beginning to diminish greatly by desertion, in consequence of the Consul Tupper's proclamations that the English Government had empowered him to give eighteen dollars to every deserter and two to every peasant who should protect such deserter and

bring him safe in. The army of Suchet, being principally foreigners, he is much annoyed by this part of the opposition to his success; and, if it were not for the disappointment I met with in the fall of Tarragona, and my doubts of the man who is now Governor of the Castle of Saguntum notwithstanding that he has done well thus far, I should expect this affair to be destructive to the French force in this part of the peninsula.

October 28, 10 P.M.

Before I go to bed I must tell you that Saguntum has repulsed another grand attack on the 25th, and that Blake; being joined by Martino with his reinforcements, put himself at the head of his army on the 26th. I really have some right to feel proud that things should be going on so well here, having foretold it when a general despondency made many think, with Suchet, that Catalonia was subjugated by the fall of Tarragona.

Arens de Mar: November 1, 1811.

Eroles has had another battle with the enemy at Perigorda, where he went after his successes at Cervera, Belpuig, &c., and has lessened their numbers by 600 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. And he is now collecting contributions throughout the Serdana Francesa without interruption. In the meantime Sarsfield's corps is augmenting to such an extent as will shortly enable him to defy the enemy, who already holds him in such high respect; and Lacy is working wonders by his effectual and no less popular arrangements for making soldiers of the whole province. Really, nothing can go on better, although we want arms, ammunition, clothing, and provisions. In short, sanguine as I have been, I had no notion of such rapid advancement as we have made; and in anticipation of some brilliant events, I almost lament the necessity of going into port just now. A better sort of Catalan talking with Thomas and myself to-day, delighting in the animation of the people and priding himself upon pointing out three fine lads of his village who had just taken up arms, said that the very boys in the streets would risk their lives in opposing the enemy; and the old fellow finished by saying: 'Sooner shall the sun cease to shine than the Catalan people submit to the tyranny of Napoleon!'

November 6, 1811.

Yesterday I received your letters, &c. Dear Edward's letter of the 3rd July is, I fear, dictated by Mrs. Magan, or

he would not write *Papa*, which is to me a very disagreeable substitute for *Father*. People say it is unpleasant to part with the endearing appellations of early life. So say I; and therefore I prefer those which need never be changed: and even your little Janey, I desire, may learn to call me *father*.

November 6.

. . . In other respects I have every encouragement to continue upon this station, for nothing can exceed the flattering confidence and approbation of my admiral, by whom I am *whitewashed* up to the 1st of this month, as I am by the Admiralty, through Sir C. Cotton, for all my proceedings relative to Tarragona. Sir E. Pellew urges my stay here to the last, saying that my presence becomes more and more necessary: and without puffing myself with vanity, I feel sensible of that truth, from my personal intimacy with the leading chiefs and knowledge of their characters, wants, and wishes, my acquaintance with the coast, the policy of the enemy, &c., forced upon my mind by a yearning anxiety to prove that Catalonia, well assisted, may establish the freedom of the Peninsula. I have pledged myself that the Catalans would do much, and I trust they will so amply redeem my pledge, that the desponding politicians of England will yet do homage to their truly patriotic exertions. There is still something rotten at heart in Valencia, as you will see by the fall of Saguntum, which, with my ship's company, I could have defended with the stones alone. I know no particulars, but I cannot help lamenting the misfortunes of Blake, who seems destined to serve ever with dastardly fellows, who, instead of profiting by his example, take advantage of the gentleness of his nature, which opposes itself to the rigour necessary to enforce obedience to duty in the wretches who form the class of Spanish officers generally. Here, Lacy has already cashiered an old general whom Eroles suspended for cowardice; nor was he more ceremonious in sending to Cardona for trial the Junta of Mataro, who seemed to be intriguing against a measure adopted for arming the people. This gives us a good promise, and I dare not say how much I anticipate from present appearances in this Principality.

Off Arens de Mar: November 11.

Yesterday I passed entirely on board the 'Caledonia' with the admiral. The unbounded and flattering confidence the chief places in me is highly encouraging; and thus I have two consolations of no small consideration—the being employed to assist a brave people struggling for their independ-

ence, and the receiving repeated marks of my conduct therein (which, by the way, is almost entirely discretionary) meeting the thorough approbation of my Commander-in-Chief. The admiral tells me that Suchet's success in the attack made upon him by Blake is not at all decisive of the fate of Valencia. It seems the cavalry of the latter was so decisively inferior to that of the French, that Blake's flank became exposed, which caused him a loss of 2,000 men and seven pieces of cannon. I by no means despair from this; and at all events it is good for the Catalans that Suchet should continue whereabout he is.

Mataro: November 14.

Yesterday morning, at five o'clock, I received information at Areñs that the French were here, and consequently weighed directly. And being favoured by a fair breeze we got here about eight, and, jointly with the 'Franchise,' were of great service in driving the robbers away without allowing them time to collect contributions, although they plundered every house they could get into. As the people were actually taken by surprise, and had not time to escape, I did not fire into the town from the ship, but confined our fire to the posts they took up on either side, leaving the boats to direct a few shot up the streets. This drove them up towards the mountains, where they were assailed by the Guerrillas with some loss. The French had above 3,000 men, and I think the Spaniards not above half the number. Had Eroles been made acquainted with it in time, I think it would have been a good day for us; for only hearing of it by accident after they had been here many hours, his whole division marched, or rather ran, five and a half leagues in four hours. It was curious to observe the systematic way in which the French soldiers loaded themselves. I saw several take off their shirts and put on white ones, after which they wrapped linen, &c., round their bodies, and wore sheets, &c., over their shoulders like scarfs.

November 21, 9 P.M.

I am too tired of the pen to say more to you than good-night, except that Eroles has made me a present of the French General La Tour's spurs (silver gilt) which he got a little while ago in the affair of Igualada, when the general himself escaped en chemise. Good-night.

November 26.

I left Areñs on the 24th, and after too calm a night we met with a hard gale yesterday, but from the N.E., and con-

sequently fair for my coming to shelter here (under the S. side of Minorca), where I anchored about eleven last night. It was a very fine moonlight night, and we were able to close round the island as well as we should by day. And I must say, there was something very impressive in seeing the sea break on the rocks at the N.-W. part of the island, appearing to cover the whole land in the neighbourhood, whilst we were scudding under a taut sail before a pretty high sea, at about two cables' length (or a quarter of a mile) distance. In five minutes afterwards we were in perfectly smooth water, and, keeping very close to the land, saw our fleet to leeward working up, without being seen by them until they discovered us snug at anchor, and were proceeding to do the same; as they have all done this morning.

Mahon: Dec. 5.

I have no other document than my letters to you of many anecdotes which I catch as I go along. Captain Edward Fellowes told me one yesterday, which is very characteristic, I think. The 'Apollo' some time ago chased a French felucca so near to the batteries at Toulon, that it was an anxious doubt whether she would catch her or not; when the Frenchman secured his escape by pushing a boy overboard, whom the humanity of Captain Taylor prompted him to lower a boat to pick up.

December 16.

I hear that the Chiefs and Juntas are quarrelling again, which must produce very serious mischief. I wish our Government would decide on sending up an English division, were it ever so small, because it would preserve harmony as well as become the principal support of the detached corps.

Mahon: December 26.

I have reported to the Admiral that the ship will be ready in a week, in order to meet his wishes, although I have not received the materials necessary to make her so. This I have explained to him, adding that, if I am not to have them without trick and deception, I shall be still without; for into that system, by way of making my ship efficient, and thus lessening my own character for the mistaken notion of benefiting the public service, I will never enter. I stated this to him because I did not like that he should suppose me possessed of resources which are absolutely requisite, and which I have no prospect of receiving; and he received it, I trust, with a conviction of its truth and the rectitude of the motive which dictated it.

CHAPTER VI.

January 1, 1812.

We are yet too deficient of rope to go to sea; and, although I shall to-morrow report the ship as ready as her captain, officers, and men can make her, I must point out that she has not braces, clue lines, tacks, and sheets to set the sails and take her out of the port.

January 8.

The Chief promises that he will himself see us supplied whenever the means arrive, and he appears fully convinced that I have not exaggerated our difficulties.

Off Barcelona: January 13.

Although it is not very much 'de mon gout' to have a parcel of uncleanly Spaniards smoking me blind, &c., I was glad to have a good chat with Lacy, who communicates with me very openly. He tells me that there have been very serious dissensions lately, which made him actually resign his command. But the Junta, whose conduct occasioned his so doing, seeing that their own lives were likely to be taken by the people, entreated his resumption of the office most fervently, yielded to his demand, and are apparently more his friends than before.

A Mr. Seward, who has long resided at Barcelona as American Consul, and who has just got away from thence after being plundered, as he says, of 90,000 dollars, dined with me to-day. He says nothing can exceed the desire of the inhabitants to turn the French out of Barcelona; of which the latter are so sensible that Mathieu, the Governor, hangs every person who makes any observation in favour of the Spaniards or English; that the French merchants originally connected with English houses during our war with Spain, are more desirous of the place being taken than any others, being, like the rest, pilfered of all their property; that the colonial produce, the only remaining property, has been seized, and is made over to speculators, who have contracted to procure flour and corn from *Gibraltar*, *Majorca*, Cadiz, &c., in return, as payment. Is not this a pretty history? He says that if one of their vessels out of three escape, it is

sufficient to make it answer. The Spanish ladies of Barcelona still will not mix with the French; make a secret of their own little parties which the French would otherwise enter uninvited; will not attend the plays or balls given by them, or dance with them if they do meet them by accident. He named a wealthy merchant who said one day, 'he wished the English would destroy the town, and should delight in seeing his own home fall the first,' who, being about to be seized, got away by a moment, but two of his people were hanged in consequence, and his daughter (I think) put in prison for life, a girl of fifteen!!! I do not like to give credit to stories of this sort indiscriminately, but this man's vulgar confidence of manner removes the appearance of design; and he names all the people, times, and places, and endeavours by describing connections with one's probable acquaintance, to place the facts more clearly in view. He says he knows from the German officers whose corps suffered most, that the French returned with the loss of 200 men when they last visited Mataro, instead of less than 100, as I had understood. In short, this man's information, added to what I myself witness, would be sufficient to excite sanguine hopes, if they were not repressed by the daily discovery of more self-interested practices on the part of the upper classes of the people. For Valencia I fear we must not encourage much hope, after Blake showing such tardiness and want of decision.

Both Lacy and Eroles assure me that the French were guilty of even greater excesses than we heard of; but I cannot yet believe in the burning the women and children, although Lacy says that, personally knowing the French General left there by Suchet, he has no doubt whatever of the report made to him of the completion of his order 'égorger' for forty-eight hours!!!

Off Tarragona: January 20, 1812.

Yesterday my *curiosity* was gratified by a land battle taking place, of which I was a witness, by necessity, however, more than by choice. Lacy sent to desire I would meet the other chiefs at Rens, to decide upon the mode of attack on Tarragona, in which we were destined to make up a little stage effect. About ten in the morning I accordingly mounted a very pleasant horse, and had scarcely reached my destination when the news arrived of 3,000 French being at Cambriles, in their way to Tarragona. 'A las Armas,' cried Eroles, and away went the different colonels assembled to head their corps. As Lacy, I thought, must want all his horses, I proposed returning to my ship on foot; but he insisted upon my going on horseback, and warned me of my danger in crossing

the line of march of the enemy. This caution was not very necessary after I learned their position, nor should I have ventured at all if I had not felt myself well mounted and very secure against being outridden by a loaded dragoon; and, as I must go at once or give it up, I went with an orderly instead of waiting for the escort intended me. Before I had reached three miles, and when within about 300 yards of where the Salou road is crossed by the Camino Real, which leads from Tortosa to Tarragona, I saw the French cavalry at the very crossing of the road where I knew they would have a picket at least, if so far advanced. We turned our heads pretty speedily, as you may suppose, notwithstanding the invitation of the officer *in Spanish* to come on; and having between 300 and 400 yards' start, I felt very confident that the three or four who chased us had no chance; and, although the poor orderly thought it necessary to urge his horse to the utmost, I was enabled to keep something in hand and have an eye behind me. Upon my arrival at Rens I found Eroles giving his orders in the most animated style possible, and just going away at the head of the cuirassiers to cut off the French line of march, whilst Lacy directed the order of march of the corps of infantry as they assembled, which they did with an alertness that surprised me. With every respect for my allies, who altogether amounted to about 6,000, I did not feel quite confident of their success against 3,000 who might probably act much more in unison, and was thinking on the possibility of a visit to the mountains, when Eroles brought in two F. cuirassiers who told us that their general had pushed off to Tarragona with their comrades, leaving the infantry, consisting of only about 700 or 800, at Villa Seca, a town just by. As the lives of these people depended upon their telling the truth, Lacy ordered the attack to be made by the corps nearest, sending others to surround the town and cut off every retreat. The first resistance of the French was very good, and an advance on their part from their position behind a wall, surprised me; but they were, I understand, pressed hard on the other side; and additional corps of Spaniards coming up, and the direction of their fire being very superior to that of the French, those who were not killed surrendered at discretion. Whilst this was going on, Eroles had obliged another party which remained in the village to take shelter in the houses, where a proportional slaughter took place, owing to the superior direction of the Spanish fire. I am speaking now from the authority of *Captain Pringle* and *Captain Flin*, as well as Mr. Castle, one of the 'Blake's' lieutenants; who, being surprised

and made prisoners at Salou where I landed, were obliged to become sharers of the risk to which those who had taken them were exposed. They agree in saying that the French officers not only encouraged their men in plundering them by permitting it before their faces, but were not above indulging themselves in this infamous practice. I shall never forget the delight with which Eroles cried out to me 'that he had rescued the English officers;' and little Pringle had an opportunity of making a good return in presenting him with a beautiful led horse, belonging to the French General, which he seized in the lower part of the house the moment the tables were turned. When one of the prisoners told me three English officers were taken, I conceived them to be all mine, and one of them young Lennox, whom I left with my gig: nor did I know otherwise until Pringle came prancing up, '*à la général Français.*' The scene I saw in the field I shall no otherwise describe than by referring you to the description Miss Baillie gives in 'Ethelwald.' The battle concluded by the fire of a Spanish field-piece; and about 300 prisoners, including two Chefs de Bataillon, were marched in one body to Rens, and I should think about 200 were left dead on the ground. It does not appear that any of the infantry escaped, as the remainder were killed or taken prisoners in the town of Villa Seca, in the houses of which they had sought refuge. After a very military repast in a field at Villa Seca, and being told by Lacy that he still intended to attack Tarragona on that night, he gave us horses and an escort, and I was not a little glad to find myself once more on board, where the whole of the officers were drawn up to receive me and offer their congratulations, having made up their minds in the early part of the day that I was taken, as well as the others, of whose misfortune some of my people were eye-witnesses. We weighed anchor directly, and instead of rest after the fag, I was all night bombarding Tarragona, with the 'Sparrowhawk' and 'Merope,' in a cold N.-W. gale, which split our sails, swamped our barge, &c.; but we persevered, standing off and on until daylight; and I learned from a man who (with all others who could) left the town in consequence, that our shot destroyed many of the houses and threw the French into great consternation. This French division must have amounted to nearly 1,000, as I saw about 200 dead and there were more than 600 prisoners; only 22 dragoons reached Tarragona with the General. But the Spaniards did not make their promised assault, as I judge by a firing on the other side of Rens from their having encountered

another French division. We were all so dead tired that I was glad to anchor just to the eastward of Tarragona, yesterday morning, where we rested quietly last night. By what I saw, Tarragona will not be easily taken, being well and fully prepared; although the small number of 700, which it contains as its garrison, must be worn down by nightly expectation of attack. I think I did well to write so much to you last night, before I sought that rest which my weary joints demanded; and I think this night, which I expect to pass without dreaming of the sight of the dead and the groans of the dying, will quite set me up. But many a night may pass before I feel a taste for this life of war and misery, for which I am not by nature at all disposed.

Captain C. to Mr. Bethell.

(Extract.) February 3, 1812.

You will admire the substance and the English also of General Lamarque's letter;* and as it was written in consequence of one of the 'Curaçoa's' shot knocking to pieces the table upon which his dinner was just placed, and he retired with his troops upon receipt of Tower's answer, his veracity is not to be questioned, more particularly as he has given Matarò up to plunder these last three days.

When the French were at Calilla the other day we heard that a very beautiful woman, who was owner of one of the principal houses, had quitted it upon their coming; upon which they sent her word that unless she came to them directly, they would burn her house; and she herself afterwards showed Tower how effectually they put their threats in execution! This is Mons. Lamarque's French generosity,

* *From the French General Lamarque to Captain Tower.*

Calilla, this 19th of January, 1812.

Sir,—I am pleased to let you know that the French troops I have the honour to command are perfectly sheltered from your balls.

Now, if you think proper to kill some woman, some child, or destroy some house of your *beloved allies*, you are free to do it, but we will know what we must think of English generosity!

Answer of Captain Tower to General Lamarque.

'H.M.S. Curaçoa, off Calilla, January 19, 1812.

Sir,—In answer to your letter, wherein you state the troops under your command are sheltered from the cannon of H.B.M. ships, and the cannonade is felt only by the inhabitants,—this ruse de guerre indicates to me the effect of our artillery, particularly when I contemplate such language coming from a French general. Allow me, therefore, to inform you that it is at the intercession of the Spaniards that the British are acting, and as long as a Frenchman is visible their cannon will not cease to fire.

with a vengeance. I have had no letters since the date of 10th November, which makes absence *very very* irksome to one who has a family, let him be made of stuff almost impenetrable. After such a lapse of time one almost dreads the receipt of the next accounts. E. C.

Captain C. to General Lacy.

'Blake,' Tarragona Bay: January 22, 1812.

My dear General,—I have just received a letter from the captain of the frigate at Areñs de Mar, by which I learn that the enemy have been driven back from Canet and San Paul by the fire of the English shipping and their boats, notwithstanding that they came with about 3,000 men and a train of artillery, with a determination to occupy the whole coast. The French report they have 12,000 destined to this particular service; but as they must have suffered very much before they retreated, I doubt their persevering. I am, however, anxious to know your intentions in this quarter, before I decide on joining my friends at Areñs, where the assistance of my ship may become necessary.

Believe me, with great respect, &c.,

Edward Codrington.

How is poor Reding? I should like much to know the particulars of your loss, as well as that of the enemy, and what has taken place since the battle of Villaseca. There were only 22 dragoons that reached Tarragona. They have a battery of three guns at the Puerto, and one gun in the Milagro; but the Cortadura is destroyed, near the sea, though they have made a complete second line of defence round the lines, on a platform which commands the Milagro, and a guard in the old Roman castle within the town just by it.

Captain C. to Mrs. C.

Off Barcelona: January 23rd.

By a boat which came to us to-day for ammunition for the guerrillas near Villa Franca, I find that Lacy's journey was interrupted at that place by the approach of above 2,000 French with 3 pieces of cannon, from Barcelona, going to Tarragona, and that he turned back to rejoin Eroles. I therefore conclude there will be another battle in that quarter. I am well convinced that the order I have given to fire into whatever town the French may enter, will do the greatest possible service. Lacy, by my desire, *wrote* me the request he had made to me verbally to do so; and issued a proclamation for everybody to quit their houses on the approach of the enemy in order that they might not obtain

either provisions or money, and that the English ships might have the less difficulty in firing upon the enemy as he had requested. For this I think the French were not prepared, because I refused to do so last winter, when requested by some, not knowing how far it might operate for the general good. But now that every able man has compromised himself, if not his family, by taking up arms, or in some way opposing the enemy, our firing upon the French in their very houses affords them the greatest satisfaction. Their houses, poor creatures, you must observe are mere walls, without more furniture or property than the family can carry to the mountains upon their shoulders. When standing in towards Villanueva, in order to anchor and adjust our defects as well as our means afford, I there saw the 'Sparrow-hawk' and 'Merope,' the latter of which weighed and made the signal for the enemy marching along shore. We therefore joined her in a little shooting party, the result of which, as far as our own eyes showed us, was the loss of two of their covered waggons, and a very great detention and consternation. We did not get sight of the main body until nearly dark; but although distant, our one or two last broadsides must, I think, have done them some mischief, as they were fired in a direct line for a large column, accompanied by their artillery, cavalry and convoy. Flin tells me that they learn by a deserter that it is a whole army of 6,000 men, who came lately from Gerona, &c., to Barcelona, and thence passed on yesterday, with a convoy and relief of garrison, to Tarragona. Eroles is therefore obliged to be off; but is, I hope, two days ahead of them in his way to Vich and the country which they have left partly unguarded. I hear he fell in with a separate division of them yesterday, and made 25 prisoners, which alone shows enterprise and activity, since his whole division is not equal to that of the enemy, and certainly very inferior in their appointment. God knows when I shall be able to paint this ship. She is as beastly to the eye as ship can well be, and as you may suppose, after being caulked and patched, besides having gone through such a year's work without painting.

Off Mataro: January 31.

I reached Areñs on the 29th, and was called here yesterday by the arrival of a large body of the French. As the inhabitants had sufficient warning and time to quit the place, I was necessitated to comply with General Lacy's desire to fire upon the town; and having the 'Curaçoa,' 'Rainbow,' and 'Merope' to help us, we have battered the houses

severely. We harass them greatly, no doubt; but I, for one, am greatly harassed also, and shall be very glad when I get back to home and quiet. This continual firing shakes the ship so much that the bulkheads make obeisance to it every time we give the enemy a rattle.

I received yesterday letters to inform me of the very precarious state of Peniscola, which is about to be besieged by the all-destroying army of Suchet. All this seems, by the bye, very unlike an amusing correspondence for a lady; but you must be my partner in this as you are in everything; and, in truth, my mind can only be thus occupied just now, occasionally wandering to my own dear, dear little home, which I can scarcely excuse myself for quitting.

Areñs, February 3.

I have not yet heard any account of the battle Sarsfield had, but that he was taken and afterwards rescued by his own grenadiers, and his division dispersed by a large corps of cavalry. But if the French have lost 600 men at Mataro by the fire of the shipping and the guerrillas, as is said, besides 600 left dead in the battle with Eroles on the 24th, and the division of something little short of 1,000 which I saw killed, wounded, and taken on the 19th, and the expense of lives and provisions during their march be taken into account, they will have paid dearly for relieving Tarragona, and what other little advantages they may have gained in plunder, &c.

February 4.

A brig is come from Adam with very sad accounts of Alicante and Peniscola, and I fear that instead of aid from us, we shall be very hardly put to it for food for the people to exist on, as the enemy is making a decided attempt to quell these warlike people by inflicting cruelty of all sorts on them, and occupying the coast. Why we are not allowed bomb-ships, but are, on the contrary, refused shells, &c., let the wise ones answer. The whole scene before me makes me quite sick at heart, and that heart sighs for home most bitterly, being ever yours.

Areñs de Mar: February 6.

The French maintain their position just without range of our shot, giving us only the opportunity of practising at their small parties which come down to this town, where, by the neglect of the people who had timely notice, they have got hold of both money and corn to prolong their power of staying. I say their *power*, because it depends as much upon procuring food as upon their success in arms; and although they may not mind the people of the country

starving first, they will certainly run the risk of meeting the same fate unless they procure provision from France, which will, I think, be more difficult than they are aware of.

There appear to me to be, speaking generally, but two classes of people in the Peninsula: the high being the worst, and the low the best that I have ever met with. I never saw a finer race of men than those of Valencia; and as those Valencian regiments which became established in Cataluña were ever exemplary for their courage, and there are many individual examples also which show the character of the people, I attribute the blame which has attached to their armies to the misconduct of their officers. General Charles O'Donnell told me of a Valencian soldier who, disguised as a peasant, was sent to watch the movements of the enemy. Whilst following in their rear, being met by three stragglers who asked him the road to Tortosa, he pointed out the wrong one, and they observed upon it; when he satisfied their doubts by saying, 'You are right, but this is the way which your comrades are gone.' The next question was if they could get something to eat? to which he answered yes, and that he would show them the house. Continuing in conversation with them, he watched the opportunity of their piling up their muskets together in the room in which they were eating, to kill one, wound another, and seize the third who attempted to escape, taking him and the muskets to his colonel. And this man, when asked how he could be rewarded, desired only a month's leave to stay at home with his wife! Another anecdote I this morning learned from Captain Hay, of the 'Papillon,' who was at Valencia when it happened, in the late siege. A French officer one day about noon came forward upon one of the bridges, and seeing the Spanish sentinels level at him, cried out, 'Pasardo,' to signify he was a deserter. The bridge being cut across, one of the guerrillas got over with a plank to help him, when the officer made an attempt to drag the guerrilla to the French post. The Spaniard drew a knife and asked the sentries if he should stab him, which being answered in the affirmative, he cut him in the face and afterwards stabbed him in the side. Still the Frenchman had the advantage in strength, and therefore, after contending for some time, the Spaniard threw himself flat on his face and called to his comrades to fire, by which means his antagonist was killed in attempting to make his escape. The poor guerrilla then got up, very coolly took the dead man upon his shoulders and carried him across the bridge, which he had made for so different a purpose, into the town of Valencia; where by the implements which were found in his pockets it was discovered that he

was an officer of engineers. By what I see of the people, and by the indifference which their officers seem to show upon such occasions, I do not doubt but instances of this sort are very frequent.

It is reckoned that the French have lost no less than 3,000 men in Cataluña since January 1, and without reckoning the twos and threes who fell in guerrilla warfare on the smaller scale, I think I could vouch for 2,000. They are said to have received 6,000 from Valencia, and one from France, as reinforcements; but the Spaniards are again recovering the effects of this great effort, and will I trust soon be again upon the offensive, for which I have now the means of preparing them. But I am annoyed to find my friend the brigand Gros, as he is called by both friends and foes, incorporated with the regular army for which he is unfit; and I have offered 300 muskets if he be allowed to return to his daily destruction of the *Gavachos* in his own prowling manner. There is a part of this country called La Valès, and when the French upon being taken call out 'Prisoneros,' and desire to be sent to the ships, they answer 'Yes, to the fregata de la Valès;' where they embark them with little ceremony for the other world! and they speak of so doing with great delight.

I now refuse receiving any of their prisoners, because we have no place to which to send them; and I therefore conclude they will send them all to 'La fregata de la Valès.' Must I not become a very savage by this life? Much as I have been pained by fearing even an accident to an ill-ridden horse, I see our shot knock over the French dragoons with more pleasure than I ever shot an old cunning cock pheasant! * ——— asks me for some information about this Principality; for which I must refer him to you from my inability to write it myself or even find time for either of my three scribes to copy, so enormous is the load of writing which I have, and yet so bodily unequal am I to the part which falls to my own personal share. I think I shall write to the Chief to state my inability to continue, and to

* I remember hearing my father say, when talking of the war in Spain, that the atrocities committed by the French in the Spanish villages were such as to call forth the bitterest feeling of revenge in their poor victims: they took to reprisals; and the result was that they gave no quarter and took no prisoners, but killed without mercy every Frenchman they could catch. In order to try and check this, my father himself offered a reward for every *live* Frenchman. In this way he saved the lives of some of them; but the Spaniards were much puzzled by his proceeding, and when they brought their prisoners to him, they asked what he could want with these 'fiends,' whom he had all along been helping them to make war upon?

HENRY J. CODRINGTON.

request his help in getting the ship home. But I will go home before next winter, one way or the other, as it is folly to persevere. At the same time I have no positive illness, and feel that rest and relaxation is the only medicine I require, administered in the cordial of domestic life; for which I yearn beyond expression, notwithstanding a burning desire to see a better prospect arise for Spain, and Cataluña in particular. If we can bear up against the present hard push made by the enemy, that prospect will, I hope, open with the ensuing spring; and I shall gladly retire with the consolation of having so striven for its welfare. That I have served the cause faithfully, my heart proclaims through every artery in my frame; and that frame, though somewhat injured by anxious exertion, will find its renovation I trust, in the success which may eventually become the lot of these brave and persevering people.

In a letter to Don Martino Llobert, 13th February 1812, Captain C. says:—

I have a letter from Sir Edward Pellew, our Commander-in-Chief, who has more anxiety than ever to assist the patriots in Cataluña. He gives me the welcome news of Ciudad Rodrigo being taken by Lord Wellington; and of some English troops occupying a castle over Carthagena for its protection. Russia and Turkey have made peace.

Captain C. to Mrs. C.

February 14.

The 'Undaunted' has brought me supplies of every sort; and a gratifying approbation of my conduct from the Chief, and a chatty private letter also of the last news. We are annoyed by the sight of the French on the hills in this country, and their robbing all the houses with impunity. I hope shortly a very strong effort will be made by Lacy; and I think the French will still find their hands full in the Mediterranean. The whole of their troops in this country are inclined to desert if they could manage their opportunity. I have three serjeants and three privates now on board.

Now that the Cortes have promulgated their new Constitution, I feel myself fully justified in using my little endeavours to disseminate its principles. And in an official letter to Lacy to-day I have offered my opinion very strongly upon the necessity of consulting the sentiments of the people and uniting them, by a different treatment from that to which they have been hitherto subjected.

Villanueva: February 23.

Things have taken a great turn in this province, owing to Lacy disarming the people who had armed themselves by his Proclamation. Some decisive measures must certainly be soon adopted either by the English *for* the people, or *by* the people for themselves. I am now pretty well informed upon the state of the Principality, and am going over to Mahon with a deputy, to explain fully to the Admiral the necessity of acting strongly and promptly. The absolute success of the Principality may depend on the conduct adopted in consequence of my representation. I have no uneasiness, however, upon the subject of my being right in the part I am acting; although I am eager to prove that I have well executed throughout the part which unforeseen circumstances have allotted to me. In Lacy's last letter to me he has directly avowed his determination to admit of no more *partidarios* or irregular troops whatever; and as we have already seen that his army will daily diminish in consequence, instead of increasing as he supposes, there is ample cause for sending an English Division to prevent the enemy over-running the whole province.

I have just heard an anecdote of Eroles, which, like every thing I know of him, delights me. In the beginning of the Revolution, when neither the Junta, of which he was a member, nor he individually could persuade Blake to succour Gerona, he, on his return to his brethren of the Junta, told them that, 'as General Blake said their proposal could not be done *militarmente*, he was himself willing to undertake it *paisanmente*;' adding, that 'as he had never been put to the trial, he could not tell whether he had the courage requisite to make a soldier, or not; that at least he had honour to support him; and if he failed, he trusted it would be said of him that he died endeavouring to serve his country.' He, however, reached Gerona in safety, and assisted in repelling the desperate assault which was made by the enemy. And after this he wrote to his friends, 'Now that the French have made their assault, I know that I am not wanting in courage, and am therefore confident that I shall make a soldier.'

From Sir Edward Pellew to Captain C.

February 23, 1812.

(Extract).

You will continue to communicate with me as often as occasion shall be presented, and you may be assured of every support and assistance which it is in my power to furnish in aid of those services you have so zealously conducted.

EDWARD PELLEW.

Mahon: February 26, Midnight.

I could not before bring myself, dearest Jane, to relate to you the sad story of the death of the dear boy to whose future conduct I looked forward with such pride and satisfaction. Poor Lennox fell from the mizen shrouds against the topsail yard, in the chains, and thence into the water, and was taken up lifeless in an instant. How to tell his good father this tale of woe I know not; but if he could read my heart, he would see that his lovely boy shared the warmth in it to which my own children are entitled. Nor is it too much to say that his loss has cast a gloom over the whole ship, and made mourners of all of us who admired his open and unaffected manners, and delighted in his honesty and sweetness of disposition. I am haunted by his dying image, in the midst of my official intercourse even with the Admiral; and I cling to the remembrance of his loveliness with an affection which, whilst living, I felt it a duty to conceal. Heaven protect you and my other dears says an anxious and aching heart.

To the Duke of Richmond.

'Blake,' Mahon: February 27, 1812.

My heart is ready to break, my dear Duke, from having to tell the sad story of the death of your lovely boy Henry!

He fell from the rigging just as we anchored here on the 25th, struck a part of the ship in his fall, and must have been nearly lifeless before he reached the water. His faithful friend, Thomas Lemon,* jumped overboard and picked him up instantly; but such was the effect of the contusions he had received, that he never appeared to breathe after being brought on board. I meditated sending his body to Goodwood, but the Admiral has persuaded me to bury him amidst some officers in Fort St. Phillip, and I shall myself, at the head of all my officers, perform this distressing duty towards him. I will not longer dwell on this grievous event than to tell you, my dear Duke, that he will carry with him the warmest affection of every officer, and, I believe I might add, of almost every man in the 'Blake.' And I can no otherwise describe my own feelings than by assuring you his loss is not less to me than would be that of one of my own children.

Mahon: February 28, 1812.

Nothing can exceed the flattering commendation which I have received from my Admiral for my conduct in the diffi-

* Son of the Duke's gamekeeper.

culties which I have had to contend against, in consequence of Lacy's conduct; and I am willing to think I can observe in all my brother officers a welcome of approbation which is not often bestowed. Thus, therefore, am I encouraged to proceed in a course which, I trust, has been useful to the common cause; and I am doubly armed with the high and fully expressed approbation on the part of my chief of all my former proceedings, and a liberal confiding communication of his sentiments, which almost insures my receiving a similar gratification hereafter. I begin to fear I am getting to be somewhat of an egotist; but it is, as you say, only *thinking upon paper*, thus writing to you; and I am bound to search carefully the breasts of others as well as my own for a judgment on my conduct. I could wish you had a copy of all my late correspondence, not only because I think much discussion will take place upon the subject of Spain in Parliament, but that you may have the power of securing me from misrepresentation, and preventing error in some of those whom one would wish should be well informed as to occurrences which really take place. The moment is very interesting, and I yet think, notwithstanding the many untoward circumstances which have again happened to the Catalans from the old cause, the misconduct of their chiefs, they will again rise, Phœnix-like, out of the ashes of their former patriotism.' The reliance these poor people place upon my word and my conduct, increases my anxiety to serve them, and I trust the opportunity will shortly again present itself. I have not been on shore, except for attending the burial of my poor boy yesterday with all the officers, and undertaking the task of reading the Service, a task which I could scarcely accomplish, and which my weakness more than once almost obliged me to resign, in spite of my determination to persevere if possible. You may assure the Duke that there was no want of real mourners to do justice to the memory of his lovely boy.

March 3, 1812.

Yesterday morning, about five o'clock, the ship was struck by lightning. I never was in a ship before that met with this sort of accident, although so very common a circumstance; and I lament much not having been myself an eye-witness of its effects. It is variously described by those who saw it, but all agree in its being extraordinary in appearance, and tremendous in its effects. Nalder shall give you a copy of the whole together, as given to me in writing. The only damage done is the splitting of a top-gallant mast, the

appearance of which is very curious. The fibres on each side of the rent part stand out horizontally, like the branches of a spruce-fir tree, as if the fluid had burst out from the centre of the mast. And the piece where the rigging is said to have been so evidently on fire that the man at the wheel ran up and extinguished it, shows no symptoms of it now; which I cannot account for. None of the men, nor the cow, suffered more than by the immediate shock; and although I am astonished that neither the main-mast nor top-mast was injured, I think I may take credit for having ordered that no men whatever should be permitted to remain aloft upon the approach of lightning. I believe indeed that there is an official memorandum of this sort for the fleet; but I have practised it to the extent of furling all the sails beforehand, and letting the ship do as she pleased.

Villanueva: March 5.

If ever the history of this war be fairly given to the public, posterity will reverence with astonishment the patient forbearance of the people under the most extensive injury, and the perseverance with which they have struggled against their foreign oppressors for the mere name of independence. I want to inspire them with true notions of the rights and liberties to which they are entitled by their new Constitution.

Villanueva: March 7.

Although I consider this province as having lost ground by the change in Lacy's plans of arming the people, &c., there appears now to be a general movement in the army of the enemy towards France on account of the war with Russia, which will put to some difficulty those who may be left to preserve the strongholds they now have. We have been very successful in landing at this place great quantities of arms and ammunition, which have been most ably conducted into the interior by the gallant Manso; who has this minute left me in high glee, because, after refusing to land any thing more at the request of Lacy, this very morning I consented at once to give *him* 1,000 muskets and 10,000 cartridges the moment he asked me for them. Did I ever tell you that Manso was a miller's apprentice when this revolution began? His own merit in gallantry and ability has already made him Lt.-Colonel and Commandant of a regiment, which he just now told me would none of them ever desert from him, or ever show the least reluctance in obeying his orders. It is very fair, poor fellow, for him to feel this sort of pride; and he is pleased by the attention he

always receives from me, to which his conduct richly entitles him. In the battle of Altafulla he did wonders, and was, I am told, the means of saving the greater part of Eroles's army. And a few days ago he was actually surrounded, with the convoy he was taking from hence, and yet succeeded in carrying away the whole safe.

March 11.

My little Lennox would never have been brought to such an act by an example ever so general. It is not weakness in me alone which gave rise to my fond hopes of his future worth, but the general opinion of the ship; nor could I have believed that the loss of one so young would have been so seriously felt by all ranks as it was, had I not witnessed the proof of it.

March 16.

I may truly say of little Lennox, that he was further advanced in all the graces which adorn the human heart than any other whose disposition I have had to contemplate! Nor were these graces only the gifts of nature who always apportions some bitter to her sweets; but, in my view at least, the consequence of that better discernment which directs to a preference of what is virtuous and estimable, in rejection of the vice and the selfishness which is in some instances so lamentably predominant.

Though short thy life, thou'st done thy duty here.

Off Areñs: March 16.

I have got an old Spaniard on board who has been my messmate before, and who gives me much useful information, and appears to hate the French even something more than he loves his Cataluña. He is just gone to bed, after telling me that this province contains people to continue its defence for *eighteen years*. He says there are more than 2,000 towns which can each furnish 20 men, which makes an army of 40,000, exclusive of the many large country houses or farms which abound in this country, and the people who would always act in guerrilla.

I was yesterday at Blanes. Although this town is close to Hostalrich which has so long been in the hands of the enemy, and is quite at the mercy of the French who have spies watching it, I am sure the people are loyal and anxious for a change. All were ready to give me information; some told me that the French were expected to pass near that very day with a convoy, and that I should be on my guard;

others offered to convey any communications I might wish to make to Milans in the interior, &c.; and the Corregidor and Bailli of the town told me that they would be very glad to supply any wants which I might have for myself or my ship; requesting me to write them a violent threatening letter requiring it, *à la mode Française*, that if the French should seize them for having supplied me, they might say they could no more resist my force than that by which they themselves levied their contributions. Thus therefore, I wrote, 'Send me sheep, &c., forthwith; I am ready to pay the proper price; or I will send an armed force to seize your persons, fire your houses, and take what I require without paying a farthing.' And thus did I get my supplies, and the thanks of my friends into the bargain.

March 16, 1812.

It is very painful to me to see Sarsfield's envious hatred of Eroles; for to such lengths has he proceeded that the Catalans consider him as a traitor, even; and it is impossible to deny that he prefers the indulgence of his own vile temper to his country's welfare. It is said of him that he has shot or killed with his own sword no less than three horses, because he could not manage them as he wished. I fear the history of this young man's private conduct, in violence and despotic injustice, will not bear the smallest palliation. He has, however, always repressed the expression of this sort of feeling in his intercourse with me, for which I thank him, although I equally detest the principle which has guided him on other occasions. My old Spanish messmate has given me to-day an anecdote which is amusing, and which marks strongly the characteristic hatred of his countrymen towards the French or Gavachos, as they emphatically term them. Gavacho, I should tell you, is a term which expresses anything particularly infamous and detestable, and has been applied to the French in the earlier wars betwixt them and Cataluña, which were continued before the war of the succession. So superior were the Catalans at that time to their opponents, both in warfare and in making their escape after being taken prisoners, that the French not having men to exchange, in order to save the lives of their countrymen, were obliged to redeem them by hogs. Therefore, as the Catalan commissioner counted off his prisoners at the confines, with 'pasè Gavacho,' the Frenchman returned 'passez porc.' And thus, therefore, when one Catalan opprobriously attacks another with the appellation of 'gavacho,' the other immediately replies 'porc.' Well, in those times of boasted success and

gloried enmity, there lived a proprietor of lands in the Ampurdan (the district between Gerona and France bounded by the Cerdana) who prosecuted the war with such zeal as to keep a considerable number of people always at his house scot-free, binding them to one unrelaxing condition—to forfeit their day's dinner unless they had graced it by the death of a Gavacho!

March 17.

I don't know that the folly of persevering in a merely military system of warfare in this country can be better shown than by anecdotes of the conduct of those smugglers, and such people as have taken up arms since the revolution, as compared with your regular soldiers, such as Blake, for example. There were two of the contrabandistas who went to the Junta of Aragon at the first breaking out of the war, and after obtaining pardon for past offences in their former calling, collected their old companions and proposed to them henceforth to turn their industry entirely to the destruction of the Gavachos. The popularity of this warfare produced general consent, and our two heroes, Bayella and Corruncull, became immediately captains of companies. After various successes, by which they obtained much knowledge in their new calling, these two parties, unassisted by any regular troops, threw themselves into Zaragossa just as the French were marching to attack it. They took possession of the row of houses in front of the enemy, opened communications from one to the other, blocked up the streets which divided them, and thus made a battery which eventually became the means of raising the first siege of Zaragossa. Without entering into the history of the noble resistance made by this renowned place, which is not to my present purpose, suffice it to say that Blake came and desired these people would thenceforth become regular soldiers, and unite their troops with some regular corps. Their reasoning that they were uneducated, unfit for and uninclined to the regular military line, and that they only wished to continue destroying the Gavachos in guerrilla warfare, had no effect; and to avoid being treated as common robbers they were under the necessity of dispersing themselves. And yet Blake, who adopted this system which has been so injuriously persevered in since, never gained a single battle nor relieved one besieged fortress, and quitted the Principality with the curses of the people, notwithstanding, perhaps, that his movements were all made *militarmente*. O'Donnell in some measure made up

for this error by his abilities and his courage: but Lacy, who is of the same school, has done more injury to the country, by breaking his word for the sake of this same system, in one little month, than he can ever balance by a whole life of services. It makes my blood boil to see the French pass about as they do with impunity, because the regular troops are sent to other parts of the province, and the people are not permitted to carry arms in their own defence. Eroles will, I trust, convince his countrymen that a combination of regular troops and native guerrilla is the best mode of destroying the enemy: and whether it is done *militarmente* or *paisanamente*, may be discussed at leisure on some future occasion.

March 19.

By what we saw to-day we rather think the French are tired of feeding themselves here with their own corn, and are returning eastward. I cannot account for the conduct of Lacy and Sarsfield: and if you hear me blamed for being so sanguine (as I see an extract of one of my letters in that tone in the papers) you must do me the justice which probably Ministers will not, of disclosing the cause of the present failures, which is, Lacy's breaking his word and disarming the people, who were before armed by his proclamation, which created the great confidence to which I alluded.

March 26.

I landed yesterday on the beach in Palamos Bay to converse with a peasant, or rather a farmer; who sighed deeply in describing, poor fellow, the injuries which his country received from Buonaparte; and he was much pleased with my giving him the 'Gazette Extraordinary' of Eroles's last victory at Roda. By the bye, this noble little fellow goes on beating the enemy notwithstanding the dispersion at Attafulla, of which they said so much; which was entirely occasioned by Lacy's misconduct, in first giving him false information, and afterwards not taking Sarsfield's division to his assistance as he promised.

Areñs: April 2.

I shall send to you some of my late correspondence, which you will find rather strongly written, perhaps. But there is nobody but myself here who will speak out to these people and let them hear the truth. This avowal of my sentiments has, however, succeeded so well as to bring two of the Junta purposely to communicate with me; and I have

brought them here from Villanueva that they may be eye-witnesses of what they say they could not otherwise have believed. And they now wish to get back and tell Lacy that the people must be again armed so soon as arms can be procured for them.

April 4.

These Junta people left me this morning with expressions of their strong sense of the just foundation of my sentiments, and of their determination to act by them; adding, that the Junta and the Principality will not fail to appreciate my endeavours to liberate their country, and that they shall not readily forget the hospitality of my reception, nor the candour of my communications. This is very satisfactory; and I trust the good effects of their visit will soon be felt by the people. But I cannot help being amused at my having taught a rich abbot to estimate genuine liberty amongst the people; and that their being armed by right, is the best defence of the Government. The truth of this is evident, you may say: but abbots don't always teach such doctrine, or admit a belief in it. I hear Sarsfield refused to obey another order from Eroles to join him: and that Eroles being desired by Lacy to return here from Aragon, has refused until Sarsfield is sent out of the province. I am glad of all this, because it will hasten the object of all the real patriots.

Off Barcelona: April 9.

The French, I find, abuse me for the firing on Mataro, saying we killed eight Spanish women. Besides that this is false, and that it shows how much they were annoyed by it, Lacy's answer to me when I mentioned the possibility of such things, was that they had no business to stay, and would only do so in order to assist the enemy. And it applies equally to the besieging or bombarding other towns. But although the French and their Spanish friends may abuse me for this, I am still asked by many who don't even quit their houses on such occasions, not to spare the enemy on their account. The conduct, however, of the richer inhabitants of Mataro has prolonged the distresses of the whole Principality; and there are some of them whom I yet hope to see punished as they deserve.

April 13.

The conduct both of Lacy and Sarsfield becomes more and

more conspicuous in the eyes of the Catalans: and I must say that I see no *good* intention to which it can possibly be attributed. The Junta will, however, I trust, see with my eyes; or at all events open their own to the danger which surrounds them, and call forth. a corresponding energy. I cannot express to you how eager I am to have practical proof of the assertion which I have made,—that the armed people will effect their own liberation if supported by a small division of English.

April 20.

I yesterday received a very satisfactory and flattering letter from the superior Junta, arising from the visit of the two commissioners. So that I have their sanction for the justness of my sentiments and proposals.

Villanueva: April 25.

Another visit whilst off Barcelona from the same deputies from the Junta, accompanied by Eroles, brought me here. My letters and the personal explanation I had with the deputies, have changed Lacy's conduct, it appears; and I am quite in spirits. A general arming is now determined on; and if we can get food, my *dreams*, as many may call them, will yet be realised. Eroles tells me that he had only 1,500 men altogether near Talarn when the French attacked him there lately; and they were most completely defeated: so that if there had been arms for the peasantry, not a man would have escaped. When I get the gazette you shall hear more; and he never exceeds the truth, but prides himself upon the enemy acknowledging that they lose more then he mentions. At Roda his troops killed more than their own numbers: they fired above 150 cartridges each upon the average; and when their muskets were too hot they rolled down stones which did infinite mischief.

Villanueva: April 25.

My spirits are up, and I must e'en tell you so before I go to bed. The news of the capture of Badajos, has reached me since I sent my last letter; which coming upon the same day with the news of Ballasteros's success near Malaga in destroying 1,300 and General Marascin in the number; and of Mina destroying a division of 2,000, taking their convoy, and releasing 500 prisoners who were on their way to France, —is enough to counterbalance the visit which Decaen is now making to this part of Cataluña in order to relieve Tarragona.

which could not have held out many days longer, from want of food. I am preparing to do him what mischief I can to-morrow and thenceforward; in his way going and returning. I must own I should enjoy tormenting him a little on his journey; and if Sarsfield be really good for much, he will not let him pass quite with impunity notwithstanding his superiority in numbers.

April 26.

I have just read an account of the ceremony of publishing the new Constitution at Cadiz. Whether others will feel as I do about this I cannot tell; but in my opinion it must have been one of the most affecting scenes possible; and I cannot contemplate it without some degree of exultation over the advocates of despotism who have hitherto impeded its completion. The successes in the S.W. of the Peninsula, will, I trust, enable Lord Wellington to send Graham or some other such man with a division to assist Cataluña. But we are again returning to bright prospects, although we want arms, clothing and food to keep the field.

May 2.

(After noticing the taking of some prizes by several ships of the Squadron placed under the orders of Captain Thomas, of the 'Undaunted.')

Whilst the ships were lying at anchor with their prizes, an unsuspecting fishing boat went alongside of the 'Undaunted,' and the fisherman was half way up the side before he found his mistake. Down he went on his knees, and could hardly be persuaded that he would not be hurt. Rejoiced to find himself again set at liberty, he was pulling away for the shore with the energy his crew possessed, when those in the French fort, rather of a more suspecting disposition, treated him with the most spirited fire they could muster. This doubled the vigour of his crew to get over the danger; and their increased animation so added to the fears of their friends, that, more than ever convinced of the determination of their supposed invaders, they blew up the fort and ran away as if the devil was after them. And with this I bid you good night.

From Captain C. to Mr. Wellesley.

'Blake,' off Areñs de Mar: May 23, 1812.

Sir,—I had the honour to receive your letter of the 27th April a few days ago, containing the Gazette account of the capture of Badajos by the army of the Earl of Wellington. The good effect of this brilliant success has been extended even to this extremity of the Peninsula. And in the general

dissatisfaction of the people on account of the conduct of General Lacy and the Intendant Department, they look with still more sanguine hopes than heretofore for the arrival of a division of English troops under a general with full power to direct the whole resources of the principality. The discontent and consequent inclination of the French army to desert is rapidly increasing; their anxiety to get on board the English shipping is excessive, and if we could obtain proper assistance from within land, the enemy's force might be reduced to insignificance. I have, &c.

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

To Mrs. C.

Areñs: June 1.

And here is the anniversary of the glorious and ever memorable 1st June. Eighteen years have elapsed since the day of that grand battle, which seemed to astonish all Europe. And if the captains of that day had done their duty as they do now, it would still keep its pre-eminence over all the subsequent victories of Nelson himself; because there was no Cadiz to take shelter in, and the whole might probably have entered Spithead together, captors and captured, forming one grand spectacle. I have still in my mind's eye the whole detail of that battle, but my real vision is tormented by the presence of a large division of French troops conducting another convoy to Barcelona; and so, no more at present.

I had a most comical salutation at Areñs two days ago, from a very sober-looking clerical gentleman, which I doubted at first my having fully understood; and you will not wonder at my requiring him to repeat the question when I tell you it was to know if I wanted *a wet nurse!* Although *I* laughed heartily, my friend looked very grave, and upon my telling him that somebody had passed a joke upon him, he asked, with surprise, if we had not ladies on board; and he seemed somewhat astounded at my accompanying my negative with another laugh at him. Judging by this, you may imagine the astonishment which is apparent in some of those who have never seen a ship before, and who, in their best houses, are unused to the sort of cleanliness which they observe in all parts of the ship.

Off Mataro: June 7.

There is certainly some little improvement in affairs here; and by a letter from the Junta, they are more disposed to second my endeavours than I had given them credit for. And I find that one, if not two, of my letters pointing out

abuses of the most flagrant description, have not reached them. I suspect some single individual of their body has withheld them, from being a party interested in their concealment. I must copy for you the beginning of the chief's last private letter, because it will gratify you to see the terms on which I am with him. And I have a right to observe that the approbation he gives me arises from my public conduct and my official communications, uninfluenced by private intercourse. He says, 'If I could write a volume to you I would, for all the kind and zealous trouble you have taken to give me full information on all points,' &c. The good effect of this trouble on my part will, I trust, shortly be evinced to the great suffering of the French; and the Comte de Plausonne may again have cause to hate me and my name before long. By the way, a shell from one of our boats yesterday killed three dragoons and their horses at the same time, of which a peasant of Villasar says his own eyes bore witness.

Areñs: June 9.

I fear you will have suffered by the non-arrival of my letters, as I have from the failure of yours; and I fear you will receive some not very satisfactory ones. It will, however, not be difficult for you to conceive that I should more willingly occupy myself in chatting with you than in detailing the various villanies which are daily presented to my view. I have another letter from the Junta to-day, with a little warmth at my doubts, which is to me an agreeable sweetener of their avowed determination to oppose manfully all the abuses in the province. Lacy, too, it seems, is trimming to the breeze.

Areñs: June 10.

At length the Junta appear to be really earnest in arming the province generally, under the precaution of a regular system; and confidence may again be restored by it in a great measure, although Lacy will have a very small share in it. Luckily, Decaen is not a very able man (as I judge by his movements), or he certainly might do more mischief than he does; and the whole French army is sick of the business beyond measure. I have let those in the Mataro Convent into a secret lately, which will not increase the agreeableness of their séjour, by actually throwing a shell into it from one of our boats. I had an interview, during my stay on shore this morning, with the heroine of Tortosa, Doña Candia, whose history, if well given, would show England of what some Spanish women are capable. This

woman, or more justly speaking, this heroine, passes for being mad; but there is no want of 'method' in her madness; and, whether '*north-north-west*' or otherwise, the excitement is patriotic devotion. When her masculine voice, which still rings in my ears, uttered the fervent ejaculation that 'she wished she were a man leading a body of troops against the enemy,' her 'D'Eon' like appearance, and the ardour of her expression, made me accuse nature of having committed a most unaccountable error. Her mind, her movements, her language, and her stature are all masculine. Her gesticulation is that of madness, and the bent of her inclination utterly military. Even her tears, perhaps from the harshness of those features amongst which they found their course, appeared like 'manly drops;' and she seemed to me a woman only in her goodness of heart, in the benevolence of her disposition. She seems to me to know well the leading characters amongst her countrymen, and to speak her sentiments to them very freely. To Lacy she says 'Well, General, and so we must become French after all, eh?' 'No, no, never.' 'Oh, but I see they are gaining ground every day, and you have not the power to interrupt them!' Lacy must have discernment enough to understand this sarcasm, although he has not the spirit or the honesty to remove the cause for it. To Milaus (whose real character I have before given to you, I believe), who is brave though boasting, and, though debauched and profligate, endowed with the genuine Catalan hatred of the French, she says, 'You complain of the weakness of your division, when it is your own neglect which makes your soldiers desert you. Instead of seeing that your troops are properly clothed and properly fed, you are following your own selfish propensities.' But she likes Milaus because he fights and hates the French; and this is the general feeling of the people. She lost her whole property at Tortosa, her native place, which she says was basely given up to the enemy. Suchet took great pains to gain her over to him, and placed an officer and four men to guard her in her own house. Whenever this officer tried to persuade her that Suchet would befriend her, and that he was a very great man, she replied in terms of the most decided contempt. At length she made the officer and his four men drunk, and effected her escape; and when proceeding towards the gates in the disguise of a beggar, the very French officers of whom she *asked charity* aided her flight by driving her away from them in terms of reprobation. The poor soul receives seventeen and a half dollars a month for her services as a commandanta; and out of this she gives the principal part towards

the clothing and feeding of soldiers who happen to be ill provided, unasked for. To one she says, 'You have no alpargatas; here, take this and buy yourself a pair directly;' to another, 'You are filthy; take this money and get your clothes washed.' And when she sees a whole corps thus ill provided, she goes to the Justicias of the town they may be in, and claims assistance as their right; and goes into all the shops begging the different supplies they stand in need of, observing that 'they are the defenders, and entitled to the pecuniary aid of the wealthy and the less active;' and she pledges her own stipend for payment where she cannot succeed without. This poor creature is of a noble family, which one would not find out by her language or appearance; for she certainly swears as loudly as the best of us, and 'calls a spade a spade' without the smallest ceremony. She is, as you may well suppose, beloved by all the soldiery, who universally call her 'mother.' She has not only a great deal of knowledge of the true characters of the leading people, but much useful information as to passing events; and I think I shall be able to turn her intelligence to good account shortly, if these events take the change which I expect.

Just before my interview with this heroine, I had one of a very different sort, with a mother whose son will go to sea with us in spite of every persuasion. I was as anxious as herself that the boy should stay with her, on my own account as well as his, as soon as I discovered that he was not, as I had imagined when I gave him my assent, the son of a poor person who wished to get him off hand. Her greatest fear seems to be about his *religion*. I told her I really could not undertake to make him a good Papist; and that all I could promise was not to interfere with any instruction which she might have given him. Accordingly, with his two shirts and his two pair of trousers, he has brought a sort of catechism to instruct his hat-less head; and the greatest possible delight is pictured in his expressive gipsy countenance. In enumerating the difficulties he would have to contend against, 'he who had not yet learned to tie his neckhandkerchief without his mother's assistance,' she said naturally, 'Ah, you none of you *can* know what a mother's feelings are on such an occasion.' 'Yes, but I can,' said I, 'although I am not a mother.' 'Then,' answered she, 'you must be a father;' and she seemed somewhat the more contented with her son's determination.

Capt. C. to Sir Edward Pellew.

'Blake,' Villanueva: June 11, 1812.

MY DEAR SIR,—The Baron* has prepared himself for the arrival of the expected aid in such manner that I trust its good effects will be very speedily developed. And he has contrived to ascertain that General Lacy not only wished for the coming of an English force, but is ready to give the entire command to the English general, without betraying his secret. . . . The long-desired arrival of the English army will be the signal for those well-informed patriots who are at present in retirement, to come forward and take their share in re-establishing the resources of their country. If at present Cataluña can do so much as she does, what may we not expect from her powers when they are all directed in full vigour to the same patriotic end. . . . I cannot tell you how I long to see things set a-going. My excellent ally, Adam, has been very successful in his late operations upon that coast. I find he mentions the death of Mr. Percival circumstantially, and there can be no doubt of it.

Believe me, my dear Sir, with the greatest respect and esteem,

Yours &c., &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

To Mrs. C.

Villanueva, June 19.

I came here on the 17th to meet Eroles upon *state* affairs; and this, like all my other communications with him, has been particularly satisfactory. The Admiral has let him into all our secrets, and he and I, therefore, speak without reserve, and have similar feelings in all our proposals respecting Cataluña. It is very grateful to my self-satisfaction to find that our plans respecting the most suitable warfare here are alike. Mine were given in before I could speak to him on the subject; and the chief made him write his on board the 'Caledonia,' after telling him everything except that he had any communication from me.

June 20.

Here I am, eating daily of the greasy dinners of my good little baron, and enduring volumes of smoke, &c., which succeed it to an excess which would astonish the Saturday night of a common English alehouse. But with the dirty forks, well companioned knives, &c., &c., we at least escape the drunkenness which sometimes disgraces English society.

* Eroles.

June 21, 10 P.M.

Viva la alegria, say I. That animated little fellow, Eroles with whom I have been dining, accompanied by five of the wardroom, has made me half drunk with his animal spirits, for wine I have not tasted this nor for many a day. The cause of our joy is the arrival of 3,000 men at Mahon from Sicily, from whence *they do say* that General Maitland is coming immediately with 3,500 more, destined eventually for Cataluña. As I see that I must feel considerable *self-satisfaction* in any decisive success that may attend the Catalans, I hope it may be allowed that my feelings are not unreasonable. But it is enough to turn the head of any man to hear and to witness in their conduct the admiration which many of these real patriots bestow on me. Several of them who have borne with the times, merely under my assurances of some favourable change, will run wild with the hopes which now begin to dawn upon their country. Lacy, too, is now again looking out for the right road, it seems. But he can never recover the ground he has lost, and his clouded star will not be seen amidst the brilliant luminaries of patriotism which will shine in the Cataluñan hemisphere. But I am now getting too lofty and wild in my flights, and, therefore, I will retire with my enthusiasm to my pillow.

June 23.

Our little Tarragona woman, with her three children, is again on board, and I shall endeavour to fix her in some employment at Areñs. The ship's company take as much care of her and her children as though they were their own; thus sympathising in the generosity which she herself evinced on a much more trying occasion. I must say I feel great interest in this little woman's welfare, and it is increased by her great care of her children, whom she keeps, as well as herself, much more tidy and clean than is usual here.

June 27.

Sarsfield has fought another battle, in which he has received a musket-ball wound in the arm. As far as I can judge, it is a very creditable affair, although its effects are but little. The French, with a force of above 5,000, attacked a most excellent position, which he maintained with less than 2,000. But he retired afterwards, and was followed very closely up to Santa Coloma, from his original position near Villanueva. But notwithstanding these late battles, I am glad to hear that he is ordered to Aragon by the Regency;

because there can be no establishment of liberty whilst such men hold military power in their hands. This report hints that Lacy will be moved also, in which case Eroles will, I conclude, be the captain-general: and this will certainly suit the English. Maitland is, I conclude, by this time at Mahon with his whole 6,500 from Sicily, and the others are uniting there; I therefore trust a few days will bring them this way. It is not possible to describe the present feelings of the Catalans in consequence of this realisation of their wishes. The French must be full as desponding as *they* are elevated, and the officers will be left to fight by themselves, I suspect.

Areñs: July 2.

I came here yesterday with one of the superior Junta on board, in order to see how things are going on, and to procure water; and here I found the odious Gavachos posted, in order to pass and repass their convoys with impunity. I never come to this part of the coast but my blood boils with anger against Lacy for sacrificing it as he has done. He acknowledges to the Junta, who have applied to him for aid for this part of the province, that he cannot find any to send: whilst Sarsfield's division, the only one united, is little more than 2,000, although the intendant delivers a report of more than 20,000 for which he provides pay and rations! And Sarsfield, who has made no one movement towards the enemy since his trip to France, until the late affair of Molino del Rey, and whose division it appears is no more than 2,000 or 3,000, has received during the time the people have been starving, as much provision as would maintain 20,000! The detail of these corrupt and despotic proceedings, and of the continued patriotism of the people, will show you of what they may be capable if properly governed and duly encouraged. Seeing all this, I naturally long beyond description for the coming of our troops, and they themselves will be astonished at the warm and hearty welcome they will receive.

July 6.

Another day has passed without official news of the expedition; but we learn by a felucca that seventy transports are at Mahon full of troops, &c., and that others are embarked at Majorca, and so forth. In the meanwhile the French are permitted by Lacy to occupy the towns hereabout and levy contributions with impunity. Many important particulars have come to my knowledge lately respecting this man which tend to increase my opinion of his bad qualities. But subtle and efficient in hypocrisy as he has proved himself, I trust

his fate will yet be such as to afford another lesson of 'honesty being the best policy.'

If I were to take all the credit which many of these patriots are wont to bestow on me, I might be greatly proud of services which my heart tells me are dictated by the most disinterested intentions. Of this, however, I shall be judged by facts, which must be submitted to public inspection; and I trust, at all events, that it will not be necessary for me to become my own trumpeter.

July 11.

A little after eight this morning an arrival of a large boat-load of ladies, relations of my worthy messmate of the Junta, Ferrer, demanded my attention, and after a warm set-to at English country dances upon the quarter-deck, followed by a sort of *déjeuné* of fruit, they are on their way back to Areñs and Canet, from whence they came. The officers of this ship join in this sort of thing very pleasantly; and the youngsters, of course, take the hint from their captain, enabling him thus to do civilities by deputy. It is wonderful what distances people have come to see this ship, even from the Puicorda; and I do not think she will soon be forgotten in Cataluña. By-the-bye she is not a little worth seeing, I can tell you; and I know some good ladies of our own country who might be gratified by a minute inspection of her order, regularity, and *contentment*. Upon this latter I set a high value as you well know, and I cannot help priding myself upon my success in this particular respect.

Off Areñs: July 19.

We are just now delighted by most satisfactory letters from the Chief, who will come himself, I think, to see how we go on. And we are not less pleased with proof by intercepted letters of the Castle of Lerida being blown up; which leaves this place, in which they have just collected 40,000 quarters of corn, assailable by our army. I have also an intercepted letter from Lamarque which shows the agitation they are in, although they doubt the coming of the expedition, and also the little hope they have of reinforcements. In short, again I will say, we are delighted. . . . I am ashamed of saying 'I have no time,' when I know that if I could abstract my thoughts I might write to many of my friends, and more satisfactorily to you. But my mind is for ever dwelling upon Cataluña; and after seeing my poor hobby so nearly foundered, it is not surprising that I should feel so

much pleasure in the prospect of her regeneration. In the meantime I am poring over deeds of villany to such an extent that I feel as if I should merely fit myself for a successor to Mr. Bond at Bow street. I am, however, rewarded by the confidence of the patriotic and the honest, and I trust they will find a good return in the benefits arising from my consequent conduct. To-morrow I expect to have on board, assisted by the Baron, the merchant who denounced to the French general, Espert de la Tour, the four poor fellows whom he hanged at this place for having borne arms against his army in defence of their country; and which merchant secretly conducted the guard to the different houses before the break of day, and pointed out those who ought to die, coolly and deliberately!

July 22.

And still no soldiers! These are very wearing delays, and at such an important moment as this, enough to kill a fidgety fellow like me. I know, however, that Hallowell will expedite as much as comes within possibility, and the Chief is full as eager as the best of us. I have, by catching unemployed minutes, been greatly gratified by the little poem of Mrs. Barbauld. I have both a pride and a satisfaction of a higher description, in seeing such proofs of mental power in my country*women*: and the more I know of other nations the more I am convinced of their inferiority to England in this great charm of society. Surely it is odd that with such notions I should submit to this unquiet solitude, this banishment from the life I love. Fortunately, however, for my future comfort, my services here have been of a nature entirely consistent with my feelings with respect to warfare; and I have escaped those disagreeable extremities to which an officer is sometimes put at the will of a minister, when his heart recoils at the execution of his orders, from their very injustice.

July 25.

I am just sending the 'Merope' to Mahon, and can only tell you that, exasperated at the ill-treatment of the French, the Catalans have poisoned the bread for the troops at Barcelona by which 60 have died, and Decaen is with his division of 5,000 outside the place in consternation. Hostalrich has also suffered in the same way, and they say Figueras too. The French have practised this and every other villany on them, and therefore it is only retaliation.

Areñs, July 26.

I receive continued marks of real esteem from the first patriots of Cataluña, by which I am highly gratified; and I

trust I am not blinded by vanity or self-complacency merely, in feeling that I have entitled myself to their regard. For, instead of confining myself solely to the supply or procurement of external aid, I have gone nigh to the breaking up of a system of despotism and of corruption which even the Superior Junta could not control. And whenever the arrival of an English force shall enable this legitimate authority to resume its power over those places at present awed by the enemy and their mercenary satellites, the effects of my interposition will be, I trust, extremely beneficial.

July 28.

Hallowell arrived here to-day with General Maitland, and the troops are expected to-morrow. There are not as many *English* as could be wished, most assuredly; but I trust the poor Catalans will themselves make up for this deficiency.

Of Tosa: July 31.

This instant the convoy of troops appears; Eroles is in consequence very noisily joyful, and I have much to do to dissuade him from attempting a trip to the masthead.

August 1.

I gave you some time ago a couplet in the Catalan, which characterises the French as *ever false*; which sentiment may be shown to be pretty prevalent, by the following anecdote: After the famed battle of Bruch near Igualada, in the very beginning of the revolution, when an inferior number of the Catalan peasants beat a superior number of French troops, while the peasantry were burying the dead it was observed by one who had had his share of the battle, that some were selected from the rest. Approaching the peasant, he asked his reason for this. One of the French calling out he was not dead and begging he might not be buried alive, the peasant said to the other, 'Don't you hear?' 'Pooh!' returned the other, 'put him in directly; don't you know Frenchmen always tell lies?' This anecdote told in the trite language of the country is excellent, but I have spoiled it I fear by writing it during a conversation with others.

August 3.

I just learn that the 'Philomel' is going to Gibraltar, and can only say how much I am hurt by again finding all our hopes blasted. General Maitland has decided on not landing in Cataluña, but on proceeding to some other part of the Spanish coast! I have just made this known to Eroles and the Junta, and the scene is enough to drive one mad. E. justly says, that if the French themselves had had the

management of this business, they could not have made it suit their purpose better. I have never known any thing more cruel. If the force was not what he thought enough, why ever come? He might have settled this at Mahon or Sicily.

Off Tarragona: August 13.

Yesterday evening we received what I am induced to consider as confirmation of Lord Wellington's having beaten Marmont at Salamanca. Upon hearing the report I made all possible sail to carry the news to Cataluña. The ship having all studding sails set when passing Peniscola, I carried her within her width of that rock, with the locality of which I was well acquainted, and within only one foot of water more than she drew abaft, and hailing the governor, who was in his bed-room just stepping into bed, told him the news. It was eleven o'clock at night and too dark for him to see the ship, but he knew my voice and observed that it must come from the 'Blake.' I have suffered so much lately by giving credence to better times that I have been unwilling to rely too much on this report. But I announced it to-day to the French in Tarragona, by going near the mole with the English and Spanish ensigns, and the union at the mast-heads, and saluting them with twenty-one guns shotted. The shot were very well directed, and besides making them bob, made them turn out their whole garrison in honour of the occasion. If this victory by Lord W. should be really as stated, we may consider the Peninsular war as almost over. But I think the greatest stand will be made here, in order to put in effect the wish of Buonaparte to annex it to France. If, however, he be kept in the north, and we follow up our blow, they can never keep their hold.

August 19.

The glorious success of Lord Wellington being confirmed is a circumstance of the highest gratification to me, and England will be surprised at the extensive consequences. It met me at sea yesterday where I went for leisure and the hopes of a prize also, but I returned here instantly in order to make this event ring amongst the hills of Cataluña and balance the disappointment occasioned by the departure of the expedition. The said expedition is perhaps at this minute about to attack Suchet at Alcoy; and I think they will find him much more of a Tartar than Decaen, against whom they would have had to act in this province. Their strength is increased by some 800 or 900 British under General Ross,

but I am not over confident as to the result, because I doubt their deriving much assistance from the people of the country. It is evident to me that General M. never intended landing in Cataluña, and I think all the questions put were dictated with that view. As, however, H. in a letter to me says, 'And your idea that his force was not sufficient to prevent Tarragona being reinforced before he could take it, and that his army was not composed of materials to fight the enemy's disposable force in the field with a prospect of success, had considerable weight with him.' I must tell you, that the statement made by General M. of his force was, that amounting only to 12,000 men, he could rely only on the 2,800 English in case of difficulty. And in answer to my question about the German Generals Donkin said, 'I have known Germans fight well, but the English are the only ones *which will bear hammering.*' I was therefore asked if with this force they could insure being able to keep up the siege of Tarragona for a week or ten days against the 11,000 French, which they considered as the least, although Eroles stated it as the very utmost, which could be opposed to them. To which I answered 'Certainly not.' But not one of my 'ideas' in favour of a landing was permitted to have the smallest weight with them.

Areñs: August 25.

I would do much to see the progress of the coming month, the little month which may decide the liberties of this, as the former one appears to have done of the other parts of the Peninsula. But how mistaken you are in your calculations of my personal danger! The French cannot bring guns to oppose us in our warfare, and they preserve their awful distance as much as possible. But by this means we materially aid the patriots, and I am not without hopes that whilst Manso continues his successful attacks on his three or four hundreds, Eroles may have an opportunity of striking a more important blow. All this depends upon the absence of the army of Suchet being prolonged and on other peculiar circumstances; and our success is in reality no more than a *may be*: but my sanguine disposition makes me anxious, and my anxiety again makes me sanguine; and thus I am ever on the fidget.

I beg you will tell our boys what a gratification it will be to me to hear them recite and to witness the improvement in their education. In *English* I fear my *sea-sons* have not advanced as I could wish them: but in truth it has not been possible for me to devote as much time to them in this respect as I might have done in other situations. They have,

however, had lessons on service which will lead them forward to future credit, and I trust they have had an example of zeal and disinterestedness which may not be unworthy their future imitation. I am not fond of saying to them 'When I was a midshipman;' but I often remind them that during the nine years of my cockpit servitude I never had the benefit of a schoolmaster, or any other instructor of that description amongst the captains or officers with whom I served: and they are therefore bound to excel me in all literary performances. I shall not, however, be ashamed to *show* them,—mixed as they are in blood and qualities, and notwithstanding that the dear little flower of my flock was so cruelly cut off. I can add no more, than the old story that I am yours, heart and soul, E. C.

To Mr. Bethell.

Salou Bay: September 17, 1812.

You are not the only one in England who have, from want of proper information, miscalculated on the probabilities of the Peninsular war. After the late glorious successes of Lord Wellington, even the most despairing will begin to change their minds. But I wish to show that his lordship's power of advancing as he has done into Spain does not arise entirely from the military strength of his army, but from the alliance he has lately formed with the Spanish *people*, and the patriots whose *ungazetted* efforts turn a check on the part of the French into a most extensive disaster. Compare the state of affairs when we made war for the Junta Central, who cried out against what they termed the licentiousness of the press, and for the perpetuation of all the Godoyan corruption, with the time subsequent to the new Constitution being adopted, and you will see the different feelings of the people. In Cataluña, however, the people have ever had a notion of rights unknown in the other provinces, although, poor souls, they are very backward in the knowledge of real freedom: but it is this temper and disposition, which has made them the objects of jealousy to the kings and courtiers of Spain, that has made them so exemplary in their present resistance. To the same point is the short experience of Eroles compared with other generals. Four years of such experience are sufficient to teach a less able fellow than he is, for four such years few of the older school have experienced. But as the French showed in 1784, there is a great advantage in beginning a revolutionary war unshackled by particular prejudices to which the purely military are ever subject. This is the cause of the failure of

O'Donnell in this province; and Lacy after adopting, apparently at least, the system suitable to the time and circumstances, reverted to the old military despotism (ignorant as he is of the right way to profit by it), and would have lost the province but for Eroles and the present Junta in whom the people still confided. Whilst General Sarsfield was feeding his troops on all they could have desired in better times, and clothing them superbly without making an effort to relieve the starving inhabitants from the oppression of the enemy, Eroles, with his almost naked troops, and going days without a single regular ration, and sometimes eating acorns and herbs like many of the people, to keep life together, was actually beating superior numbers of the enemy in different parts of the country. I have now on board a French deserter who was at the battle of Roda, who, after recounting the losses on his side including their general, and acknowledging their being obliged to retire without gaining their object, added:—but besides the Baron of Eroles and his whole division, there was another general joined him, and Mina with all his troops also from Navarre. Thus are these fellows deceived into imaginary deeds of prowess against superior forces when in fact Eroles had only about 1,000 fighting men. Few have had so much confidential communication with Eroles as myself: and in all his plans and all his proposals I see as much to admire in the soldier, the real military tactician, as I do in the patriot and the man of honour. And if he had at the same time an opportunity, I think few would exceed him even in the parade routine, so attentive is he to all the received opinions and practices, as well as the more important points of offensive warfare. Very lately when sent to occupy the attention of the Barcelona army whilst Milans fell down upon Mataro, I am told that the French were foiled in several different attempts to outmanœuvre him and flank his position. In health I am greatly improved and I hope to stand the fag until the change I anticipate here is actually produced.

Salou Bay: September 24.

We hear that one of Suchet's divisions has been destroyed at Requana by Joseph O'Donnell and Villacampa, aided by a few of Lord W.'s troops: that Villacampa took 700 prisoners in the castle of Alcañiz, besides releasing 400 Spaniards; and that the army of Suchet has been tormented greatly by El Frayle, who has 1,200 followers. This enterprising fellow a short time ago met 600 French wounded near Castillon de la Plana, escorted by twelve soldiers, who

had charge also of some cash belonging to the Custom Houses, &c. Of the latter he made prize, but he not only sent the twelve soldiers on with the wounded, but gave them a passport that they might not be molested by the Spaniards; which had such an effect on this little escort, that after seeing their wounded companions to their destination they all joined the standard of El Frayle. And yet the French have set a price upon this man's head.

Salou Bay: September 27, 1812.

Eroles came to Salou this afternoon to concert future operations and to give me an account of his brilliant little affair at Arbeca. Hearing of a plundering party of about 500 having come out of Lerida, he started immediately from Reñs with 600 by a rapid march of twenty-four hours over the mountains; and by himself pressing forward so as to place peasantry at the bye-roads, he caught three different spies going to announce his movement; caught the French at Arbeca, killed 271 and made prisoners 179, allowing none to escape but a party of horse which never risked the encounter. Three nights without sleep and three days without a regular meal, did not prevent his visiting me on his return to plan future means of destroying the enemies of his country.

Salou Bay: October 3.

I had written you a sheetful of our little attack on the mole of Tarragona, but although I was anxious to take the earliest opportunity which might offer of making you a partaker of and thereby increasing the pleasure I had in our success, my performance evinced symptoms of the fatigue of losing a night's rest in anxiety, and I thought it better to give you a copy of my official letter. I did not like to refuse the lieutenants and youngsters, and therefore was tied pretty close to the ship myself. The French were in great alarm, evidently thinking it a real attack on the town: and knowing all the movements, it was very pretty to see the general fire of musketry and cannon, aided by shells which were thrown at random, and carcass lights, in order to discover the Spanish positions. Nor was it the least pretty part, the sight of the vessels and boats, making quite a mosquito fleet, towing out under the fire from the garrison just as daylight opened.

This, to me, most welcome proposal of making over the little amount of prize-money to the soldiers, removes all the difficulty of arranging the shares, which I should otherwise have had to annoy me.

To Mrs. C.

October 4.

I will not go to bed without telling you that Eroles has succeeded in a very brilliant little affair, which will be productive of more good than at first view appears probable. Hearing suddenly on the 1st that above 500 French had come out of Lerida to plunder the towns in the neighbourhood, he left Reñs with the flank companies of his little division, amounting to 600, cut off their road by a most extraordinary forced march, killed 271, made prisoners of 179, and allowed only seventy to escape, which, being cavalry, never were within his reach. His own loss amounts only to one captain and five privates killed and a small proportion wounded. He gave the order, directed at length by Lacy, as a reprisal against Henriot's garrison, to bayonet the whole; but he said he was quite disgusted as well as his troops, and humanity forced them to spare the rest, although disobeying an order dictated in justice. The poor people in the towns, thus revenged for the cruelties inflicted upon them by the merciless Henriot, brought out their little stores of food to his troops, and strove for a preference in their acceptance of it with tears in their eyes; and he gave them in return the four hundred and odd muskets taken from the French, with the ammunition belonging to them, that they may employ them in self-defence hereafter. Many of his troops were new to him, and those who remained at Reñs are eager to rival their comrades; so that, seeing what the former have proved themselves equal to, and not doubting the equal worth of the latter, he thinks them invincible, as he has always done those whom he has had with him a short time. I see the people of Reñs have illuminated to-night for him, and the whole country glories in him. But as he has not slept or had a regular meal these three nights, I trust he is gone to bed, leaving others to enjoy the festivities. He had come a pretty good day's journey to-day, but he nevertheless came on to Salon to concert operations with me and give me the account of his success. He has shown me a letter from Cadiz by which I hear the latest accounts from England, and amongst them a delightful statement of Soult's forlorn condition. I am gratified to find that Englishmen now begin to see this war in its true light, and to value the dazzling and wonder-working victories of Lord Wellington as they ought. Now is the time for our self-satisfied senators to review their prophecies and recollect that they are not infallible. And

may not I look back to my sentiments with some satisfaction?

Salou: October 13, 1812.

Since the coast westward has been cleared by Lord Wellington's great and ever-glorious victory, ever glorious I trust it may be termed by its good effects being everlastingly felt by a whole people (or in other, but to me unaccountable terms, 'the universal Spanish nation'), I think one may risk letters with more confidence by the trading feluccas betwixt this province and Cadiz.

October 19, 9 P.M.

You would have been amused at a shooting turn-out prepared for us to-day by Eroles. The little Baron himself was no bad figure, poking about in order to kill a thrush with a stocked pistol given him by Sir E. Pellew, in a uniform cocked hat and a round striped linen jacket. But there was an old gentleman in an antique cocked hat, and with a long no less antique gun, that would have cut a famous figure in St. James' Street. And the whole appearance of the different dogs, amounting to above twenty, with the escort of cuirassiers, &c., &c., made a very amusing scene. Sport, in my view at least, was quite out of the question, and therefore it was no very great disappointment to me to have but one shot at an unfortunate quail, which I bagged. The Baron did not get a shot, and similar ill luck attended one of the lieutenants who went with me. But the day ended very pleasantly with a very good dinner prepared by my steward in a tent on the beach, and our excellent friend the Baron returned to Reñs well pleased, as he always is, with our harmonious intercourse. Whilst we were shooting to-day a party of his troops were guerrilla-fighting with the garrison of Tarragona, who must feel a little angry at being thus bearded by him within shot of their walls. He tries hard to tempt them out, but they will not risk it just now.

Salou Bay: October 21, 1812.

I have little to say to you, my dear Jane, since closing my letter yesterday; but you will expect me to notice this seventh anniversary of the great battle which excited the attention of all Europe, and lost to England in the death of her Nelson as much as she gained by that important victory. Time is fast breaking in upon the impression made by the glorious battle of Trafalgar; and the more decisive good effects which have followed and will still continue to follow the not less glorious battle of Salamanca will weaken that impression somewhat more. It is, however, and will continue to be, a day of

agreeable recollection to us personally, and I only lament that I cannot enjoy it in your society. Certainly the soldiers have now their turn, and far am I from begrudging them the opportunity of showing that they are our brethren, formed of the same stuff and bred on the same soil. Indeed I have more than once felt hurt by uncouth compliments paid to our service at their expense, feeling sure that they wanted but the opportunity to prove their equal value. Of the opportunities they have lately had they have taken full advantage, and the French themselves are no less glad than the rest of Europe to give them their tribute of applause. These boasters are indeed becoming more polite to my little friend Eroles, by the same rule that he is ready to prove his worth by opposing himself to them in equal numbers.

October 24.

We hear of Lord Wellington approaching our frontier, and indeed of his diminishing Soult's army 20,000, but we cannot rely on these reports. I think it is very odd if they do not create a famine amongst them; but at all events, having the whole country and the sea open, Lord W. must be best off.

Villanueva, November 6.

A letter from Eroles this morning tells me that he was attacked on the 3rd at nine in the morning by the whole French army, and that, although the battle lasted until night, he repulsed them without losing a foot of ground. They then attacked the position of Lacy, three hours' distant, but equally strong, forced it, and penetrated to Vich.

Salou: November 14.

Every hour I expect to hear of Lord Wellington showing himself in force near Zaragossa, and I still hope that Soult is in danger of being served à la Marmont.

Off the Col de Balaguer: November 17, 1812.

We are aiding in the *musketry* siege of this little fortress which guards the only pass for cannon and carriages into Lower Cataluña. I say musketry siege, because no guns are employed, and it differs only from a blockade by the fire of musketry. I do not think there would be any great difficulty in dragging guns up to some commanding height; but as the arrival of reinforcements from the Tortosa (Suchet's) army would occasion the few Spaniards here to retire, I am obliged to hold off from so difficult a task. In the meantime we are taking the opportunity of destroying temporarily, at least, the road on the west side, so as to impede, if not prevent, the

retreat of the French army with their artillery. If the Spaniards will pursue this object, which I have pressed most particularly, our expedition will still answer, for it has employed only 500 men and some powder and ball cartridges, of which we have plenty. But when we see these poor fellows working without that animation which *we* boast, we should consider the difference in the mode of treatment. Not a regular ration have these men to the westward who are working at the road, received these two days, as their officer told me to-day; and that he himself had not tasted a draught of water. We supplied them with water, however, the night before last; but I must say he and his people who came to receive some cartridges which I took in the gig drank our kid of water as some of our sots would have done wine. Yesterday morning I went with two lieutenants and a party and blew up by three separate explosions the castle of St. George, about four miles to the westward, close to the beach. It was a very strong and well-built fort with, I think, eight embrasures, drawbridge, bomb-proofs, &c., with seven different rooms or quarters, besides a large stable for cavalry; and the Spaniards who inhabited a part of it, having continued in charge of it for years previous to the revolution, told us that until about three months ago the French always kept a guard of twenty-five cavalry there. The destruction, therefore, of this castle, and the part of the road which, under present circumstances, is almost irreparable, will put them to great difficulties. And even if we could get the fort itself, Eroles agreed with me that the best plan would be to destroy it.

November 17.

Last night I think we rode out the heaviest gale I ever was in, during the seven or eight hours of its height. It was, of course, off the land from the N.W., whence come all the severest winds in this country—that is, from N.W. to N.E. The night was light and the moon clear, but the water covered with the white smoky foam which arises from the spray lifted by the wind, and which, mixed with sand from the shore (three miles off and well clothed with beautiful heath which left little of it exposed) made my eyes somewhat ferret-like in appearance this morning, and whitened our topmast rigging like snow. This sort of weather makes me feel strongly the unexpected delay in the nearer approach of Lord Wellington, who has, I fear, met with more difficulty and more loss at Burgos than was expected, in consequence of which Soult has approached, if not even, as the French report, entered Madrid.

From Captain C. to Mr. Bethell.

Off the Col de Balaguer: November 18, 1812.

. . . . . .

Yesterday four years I became captain of the 'Blake,' and the letter which I yesterday received from Sir H. Wellesley, relating to Lord Wellington's necessary retreat from Burgos, makes me anxious that I were no longer in this office. The hope of success has buoyed me up, and made me fight against the vice and corruption which prevail here with increasing eagerness; but it is too much to be left almost single-handed in this battle, and I shall no longer decline the first opportunity which is offered me of taking my ship to England. It is not that I despair of the cause, which is very much better than it was before the most glorious victory over Marmont; but I can have no hopes of Lord W.'s approach this way until more time elapse than, even under such circumstances, I am prepared to sacrifice to that object. For although the pains in my chest may be rheumatic, still pains they are, and of no very agreeable tendency, and I have been made very sensible of them lately by the hardest gale of northerly wind I ever witnessed. It blows too hard now for me to keep my stove alight, cold as I feel; and the eyes of those on deck are pelted with a mixture of salt and sand, arising from the gusts of roaring wind, which come down the wild and rugged mountain a league from which we are now anchored. I came here to assist in any means which might be found practicable of reducing the little fortress which gives date to this letter. I at once gave my opinion against it, notwithstanding my desire to be useful in any way towards effecting it. Luckily the transport with the shore guns, and a bomb-vessel which chanced to come here from Alicant, were driven so far to leeward as to make it impossible to land guns on the only feasible day we have had; for yesterday Villamil, the colonel sent on this errand with 500 men, got intelligence of 2,000 sent to succour the fort; and as it has blown a hurricane ever since, the guns, if landed, must have been sacrificed. The colonel, however, assented to my proposal to destroy this costly road as much as possible, which affords the only pass for cannon and heavy carts on this side Zaragossa; and as the investiture of the fortress enabled us to blow it up where it was so strongly built over a sort of deep ravine, and as I also profited by the opportunity of destroying the castle of St. George, a very complete fort by the sea-side, about four miles from hence,

towards Tortosa, where the French usually kept a party of twenty-five dragoons to keep this district in order—the time has not been fruitlessly employed.

To Mrs. C.

November 19.

Last night the 'Goshawk' brought me a letter from Hallowell, and others from Sir H. Wellesley and Mr. Vaughan, which have sadly lowered my spirits by a detail of Lord Wellington's necessary retreat, which banishes all present hopes of driving the French from the Peninsula. This being the case, I am no longer a volunteer for staying here, and shall certainly take advantage of any permission that may be offered me for steering the 'Blake' homeward. I do not despair, however, for the final success of this cause, because the state of affairs has wonderfully improved in consequence of the great victory of Salamanca; and the decision of the Cortes to give Lord W. the supreme control of the military will work wonders. But *that* is necessary to complete the great object which I cannot spare—*time*; and I must, therefore, resign the prospect of sharing in the great success, as I have done in the anxious endeavours to obtain it which have prevailed in this province.

Salou: Nov. 24.

The French seem to be lording it about with more impunity than ever, owing to the conduct of Lacy. After levying their contributions at Vich, they went to Manresa, whose nobly patriotic inhabitants quitted their houses, and probably offered such opposition to their approach as the disarming system admits of; for their town was again set fire to in four different places after being plundered, and all the country houses thence to Barcelona were treated in the same manner. These fellows then came on this way, and are now in Reñs and the other neighbouring towns collecting corn and dollars. Our boat with a carronade happened to be close to the beach at Salou upon the arrival of the first dragoon there, and the hint he received being communicated to the rest of the party, who had shortly a cross fire from other boats which I sent instantly, and from a Gibraltar privateer, induced the whole party to retire minus one horse, which lies dead in the road; so that of the little which was landed before we put a stop to it, they got not a grain. Just as I sat down to dinner two fishing boats full of people were observed rowing and sailing out from Cambrils after a bombard laden with corn which went from hence this morning and had not yet anchored. I

must say the fellows were as smart as dashing in getting hold of her. But our boats were up quickly enough to make them push for the shore again in a devil of a hurry, and both the bombard and the two boats are now at our stern. There were above forty men in the two boats, and they might have put our people to some difficulty if they had not shown as much fear in running away at last as they had displayed impudence in the enterprise itself. We had nobody hurt. I know not how they fared, as they took to the bushes, and were quickly assailable only by the carronades. Frenchman-like, the officer shook his sword repeatedly at Richards (my lieutenant) whilst he was making off as fast as fear could drive him.

Off the Alfaques: December 4.

I came here to reconnoitre the mouth of the Ebro, that in case of being asked any questions relative to the possibility of sending guns or gunboats to attack Tortosa hereafter, I might be able to give some useful information. It is a very wild and curious tract of land, formed by the sediment of the Ebro, which is called the Alfaques, having a good roadstead on the eastern side against westerly winds, and the best harbour Cataluña can boast on the western side for vessels which can ride in three fathoms and a half. There are two mouths to this river, about a large league, separated by the island of Buda, which is of triangular form, filling up the space betwixt these two branches of the river. Nothing but a sort of wild useless brushwood grows on this land, which is occasionally almost buried in sandy mud, as it has lately been. Yesterday, upon our first landing, we could get within shot of the millions of birds of all sorts which inhabit this quaggy tract; and we contrived to slay a few of the more foolish of the plover sort; but besides these and the various duck tribe, there are numbers of the wary storks or herons, and some eagles which we found it impossible to follow even after getting the gig over the sand into one of the lakes. To-day the birds of all sorts had taken the alarm, and I got no shooting, although I went up one arm and down the other, making the tour of the island of Buda. My cruise, however, answered better by my getting a good lot of what the carpenters call 'stuff,' which the French had just embargoed, and which, it was hinted to me, moreover, had previously belonged to a rich rogue. There was some more which I was plainly told was the property of a poor and honest man, which, though equally embargoed, might perhaps be still left him; and upon my saying that if it was

private property I did not much like to take either, my friend actually showed a wish that I would take the former, which he and his companions helped us to launch.

Salou: December 5.

Five thousand men from Sicily, with Lieutenant-General Campbell, are betwixt this and Alicant, and Lord W. Bentinck following to that place with 2,000 more. But few of these are English; but it will have a great effect. And we hear that Lacy is really to be turned out of this province, and Eroles put in his stead, which would certainly have a good effect at this moment.

Villanueva: December 8.

The Chief says, in his last letter, that he hopes to bring Lord W. Bentinck over to this coast, on his way to Alicant, very shortly; and adds, 'I am sorry to hear you complain again; pray hold out if possible. I would lose an arm with pleasure that our fine little gallant friend Eroles and yourself should be able to say we cleared Cataluña without help from either army.'

These are but words 'tis true, but they are very flattering ones; and perhaps he withholds from me the knowledge of having received any letter about my going home in order to keep me from temptation.

Salou Bay: December 14.

We have still continued reports of a successful battle given by the Allies, but nothing like a confirmation. If, however, it should be true, considering also the consequences which may shortly follow the arrival of Lord W. Bentinck, who is daily expected at Mahon, and the supersession of Lacy, I shall certainly wish to prolong my stay a little, instead of going away before the tide of prosperity begins its course. I can never expect to have the full credit such sacrifice entitles me to from anybody beyond the small circle of real friends, because in the career of arms each is busied with his own glory, and envy and jealousy naturally cloud the approbation of compeers. But, that voluntarily absenting myself from every comfort and the society which alone I love, to set an example of energy to the timid and sluggish, who will not scarcely encourage the flame of patriotism for which they sigh, and to destroy the base mercenary disposition which is prevalent to an unexampled degree amongst the mercantile part of this community, unaided even by those who most wish me success—deserves reward, and is actually my case—I think no one would venture to deny. The reward I seek, however, need not excite the

jealousy of the most envious; for it consists only in admitting my just claim to the merit of disinterested services, and my own self-satisfaction. I do not want to be paid in what is called 'base lucre,' but I would wish to keep my country in my debt, which is now-a-days the greatest distinction. I was here interrupted by a wish on the part of Curzon, one of the lieutenants, to understand the principle upon which a ball let fall from a ship's mast-head, when going with ever so great a velocity, falls upon the same part of the deck as it would if she were motionless. These are discussions which I find very prevalent amongst two or three very fine young men here, in which it is very agreeable to take a part. First of all, the subject is most pleasing, and secondly, it is very gratifying to me to find the minds of those with me directed to pursuits of so creditable and so useful a nature.

Areñs de Mar: December 19.

The people of Manresa having begun to speak their sentiments, will, I think, give a tone to the rest of the province, and Lacy will find it necessary to turn out whether he has the order of the Regency or not, perhaps. He has himself been obliged to give praise to the noble Manresians, and in his *better days* held them out as an example to others; and as they have ever acted upon the same principle at the expense of such sacrifices as establish their patriotism beyond the possibility of doubt, he must feel the pressure of their present expressions. These people took the lead in the revolution, and acted with a forethought which gained them the credit of discernment as well as zeal; and, indeed, they were pre-eminent even in former times, although their weapons were different as being more suitable to the period alluded to. In the time of Godoy all appointments were granted corruptly. The source being foul and tainted, purity could not be expected in the different branches. But whenever the Manresians found a new governor more extortionate than, according to the current race of Court sycophants, they had reason to expect, they collected a sufficient sum of money, sent a deputy to the fountain-head, and purchased a somewhat less venal in his stead; and no people knew better the exact price of a rogue. In their measures immediately succeeding the revolution, they seem to have acted with the jealous caution of the Romans, notwithstanding the despotism they have subsequently endured. For even when they had themselves elected a Junta to regulate the mode of extending the revolution, they nominated one of the lower class of the people of sound sense, although unable to take part in the

business, to be present at all the debates, and give an account to the others, that no deception might be practised upon them. So active were this Junta, that they are said to have despatched above sixty different expresses in one day to prepare other towns against the treacheries meditated by this very Marquis of P. who is now Captain-General of Estremadura, after having so often misconducted himself. These people got at his secret designs, and sent warnings to the different towns to which he despatched troops, with sealed orders in order to take military possession and put down the armed people, and thus defeated his object, or perhaps the revolution would never have reached its present height. For there can be little doubt that the greater part of that bigoted set in which the Palacios, the Cuertas, the Orenses, the Compignys, &c., are included, never wished to get rid of the *system*, but (like their fellows in other countries) merely to *oust* the party which kept them in the background. They hated Godoy, not for his vice, but for his power to retain in his own hands the reins of corruption; and it may now be doubted if they would not prefer the old *régime*, the Queen, Godoy, and all, to the freedom likely to be eventually established.

December 22, 11 P.M.

I will not deny myself the pleasure of telling you that Eroles is really appointed to succeed Lacy, and that the official document is daily expected in a Spanish frigate, which is to have the honour of taking Lacy from the province he has so deeply injured. The night before last one of Manso's officers came off to me from Mataro, with *thirteen boats loaded with sugar, cocoa*, &c., which he had taken from a French store in that town, with both French and Spanish papers. And yesterday morning the gallant fellow himself came on board just in time to see that we had got it all shipped for him and under way for Villanueva. He so completely surprised the enemy by a six hours' rapid march, that he took eighteen prisoners, and killed and wounded four officers and about twenty men.

December 23.

I was amused upon going round the ship last Sunday, to see a whole sheep roasting in the galley, stuffed with potatoes and onions. It seems the mess to which this belonged had bought it, like many others, for a Christmas dinner; but it being agreed that there was no certainty of what might happen in the intervening time, they determined 'to have a good *blow-out* whilst they were all stout and hearty.' The prize-

money has done the ship great credit, owing perhaps, in some measure, to the power I have here of preventing the introduction of extra liquor. For, besides good clothing, every mess-place in the ship is ornamented with gold, according to their several tastes, at their own expense, and with some degree of uniformity in the shelves, broken by the little variety of their own paintings and ornaments; which, marking contented choice instead of the hand of power, the whole produces a very pleasing effect.

December 27 (Wedding day), 1812.

At length, my dear Jane, we have arrived at that day which I looked forward with so much confidence to passing with you; and here I am solitary amidst numbers, deprived equally of solitude and of society. It is impossible not to reflect upon the insignificance of the return which I gain for a life of such sacrifice, and to incline towards resolutions which reason dictates, however unwilling I am to adopt them, and thus make them irrevocable. I really wonder at my own hesitation in this respect, when I reflect upon my disinclination and consequent unfitness for the profession of arms; and the tormenting, although I would fain hope not fruitless, anxiety which I have run myself into by my eagerness to establish the liberty, the peace, and the happiness of my neighbours to the utmost extent of the means within my reach. But, besides this feeling, 'honour pricks me on,' perhaps you will say. However, although I do not wish to divest myself altogether of that spur to exertion, I consider the acquisition of that which in public estimation merits such a title as so very dependent on circumstances over which we have no control, that my study is rather to lose no credit which I have hitherto gained, nor any legitimate opportunity of increasing it. Moreover, the road to honour does not necessarily require that one should travel it divested of every domestic comfort, and therefore do I the more repine at my privations. Indeed, in spite of all professional prejudice, and of my greater reverence for those who undergo most risk and personal suffering in their services, I consider him as most admirable in the eyes of his country and most entitled to its gratitude who, in a greater degree, promotes the internal happiness of the people. And whilst the utmost powers of a Nelson or a Wellington can only forward this obliquely, a senator of equal worth and equal eminence, may produce it by his own individual efforts, and secure the boon to posterity. God knows that both here and in England there is at this critical moment a wide field of senatorial

glory open, although I fear in either country a disgraceful paucity of subjects who have souls for reaping such a harvest.

December 28.

It is very satisfactory, both to myself and the officers, that the ship's company at this Christmas time should have shown so much mirth and good-humour without drunkenness and quarrelling. You would have been much amused if you could have seen their dinners and suppers on Christmas-day. Their prize-money has been better husbanded than is common; and, besides good clothes, they had enough to live luxuriously. There was not a table that had less than double what the mess could eat on it, I am sure; and at supper some of the tables were lighted up with ten or a dozen wax candles. My fire is out, and I am too cold to sit up any longer; my heart, however is warm, and warm with the sincerest affection for you.—Adios.

January 1, 1813.

A happy new year, my dear, to you and dearest little ones; and a happy new year ushered in here with the twenty-ninth bulletin just received, giving an account of the destruction of the French army, or nearly so, in its retreat from Russia. I have been hard at work getting copies sent to different parts of the Peninsula, as well as to the Chief, as being most important in the present state of affairs.

January 2.

I have at least as many reasons for writing to you as Swift gave for drinking. I now begin my letter because I am in good humour, or rather because this news from Russia has thrown a beam of cheering light over the prospect of my return home, and opened a hope of that general peace which is no less wanted in England than elsewhere, and which may enable me, like many others who have as little attachment to a life of war and tumult, to pass the rest of my days in content and quietness. The destruction of this northern army will at all events be productive of great good, whether for the purpose of making peace or of prosecuting the war.*

Salou: January 5.

We anchored here this morning, and Eroles came to dine

* *From Sir Edward Pellew to Captain C.*

January 5, 1813.

The important information of the ruin of the French army in Lithuania, as stated in their own accounts, is highly interesting, and you have done well in giving it the most extensive circulation. I trust this intelligence will have the effect of rousing the exertions of the Spaniards on the opening of the ensuing campaign, &c. EDWARD PELLEW.

with me. He has given me a most lamentable account of the reduced state of the province, and I believe he would have persevered in refusing the command of it but for my persuasion, which naturally makes me the more anxious for his success.

To Mrs. C.

January 6.

Whilst I was with Eroles to-day he received a letter from Cadiz which makes me think his official appointment is actually come, although the courier has not reached him. We dined about thirty, and I have left four of the lieutenants to play my part for me, instead of risking anything by sleeping away from the ship. For, besides the possibility of not getting on board in the morning, the sort of row which even joviality creates wears me, and I have no recompense in fêtes themselves, which, on the contrary, I cautiously avoid. In these matters E. and I are agreed in not putting any restraint on each other, and we therefore the more readily meet for the purpose of being useful. He has, poor fellow, laid open to me the difficulties he has to contend with in taking this command, and they are certainly such as would deter any honest man from the undertaking, if he were not impelled by a more than ordinary patriotism to risk even his own credit with the people of his native province. I wish you could influence some men in power to send him some greatcoats and pantaloons, or cloth for making them; and the women of England themselves would do it if they could witness the patience, and even cheerfulness, with which his people undergo the mountain warfare, half naked and less than half fed. I would most willingly subscribe my 100*l.* to be of such a party. I feel a cheerfulness arising from the good news, and consequent brightness of the general prospect, which is necessary to support me under this prolonged absence from you and yours, who are ever uppermost in my heart of hearts. Adios.

Salou: January 9.

I lament that I do not hear of the positive arrival of Eroles' commission, because he cannot act until it does come, although he, of course, fixes his mind upon the subject, and is preparing himself. I have often endeavoured to give him some idea of the sublime expressions of Cowper, which strike me as being very applicable to this country at present, and Curzon has been translating a page or two upon the subject, as the ground-work for us thereby to explain more fully by conversation the sentiment of the divine author; and the object is that he may catch this fire so as to express it in his proclamation, and thereby re-animate his country-

men to still further exertion. Besides the desire which every friend to liberty would possess to aid in this glorious work, I feel a particular interest in the success of my little friend. But I am also impressed with a conviction that the diffusion of freedom generally will not only secure that of my own country against further innovation, but establish it in greater purity by thus placing sentinels around it who will remove the alleged danger of trying experiments, of which an envious despotism might attempt to take advantage.

January 9, 8 P.M.

Whilst I was drinking my tea this morning I made Barker read to me, and coming to a passage which mentioned the value the Spartans set on music, he, in reference to a former conversation, asked if I would not rather hear a lady play on the pianoforte than discourse on politics? to which I surprised him by answering, 'Certainly not, *provided she understood the latter as well as* the former; seeing no reason why a woman should not take an interest in the welfare of her country, and in directing the minds of her children to those subjects and pursuits which, by making an impression early, might lead to their own fame and their country's good at a later period.' : . . .

I can most conscientiously say for myself that I have never for one moment swerved from the strict line of duty, or allowed amusement, or even attention to health, to stand in competition with it. In my own feelings alone at this moment I find my reward, whatever other consequences may attend on it. It is not that I pretend indifference to praise; that is, to deserved praise, or praise deemed to be so by my inward monitor. On the contrary, I am highly gratified by that of Admiral Montagu, and not the less so because, unclothed in official power, his esteem alone can follow it; for there are no worldly gifts equal in my view to the esteem of so good, so superior a man.

January 12.

I am sorely grieved to find that Pagès, one of the best men and the soundest patriots which this country can boast, and who, in consequence, has been one of a great number proscribed by Decaen, has fallen into the hands of the French. They had the meanness to keep spies, or rather assassins, for ever following him, and by this means seized him in a country house in the night. Eroles has written to Decaen, and I have sent a letter to Mathieu, the Governor of Barcelona, warning him of the probability that the relatives of Pagès, a man so loved by his countrymen, will adopt

the same means for avenging him; that his own countrymen will suffer for whatever cruelty may be inflicted on this occasion, and that it will be impossible for me hereafter, in case of their killing P., to use any further interference in order to prevent a just retaliation. Eroles thinks they will shoot him directly; but as I well know that fear of reprisal has more effect upon these people than any appeal to their justice or humanity, I hope the decree passed by Lacy, 'that double the number of French now prisoners shall be held responsible for the lives of those proscribed,' will bring Decaen to his senses. For, although Lacy probably made this decree solely to wipe off the censure of his late conduct, without intending to carry it into execution, the French, being aware of E.'s appointment, will not doubt its being carried into effect.

January 19.

I am now sending off a piece of news which may be useful as a guide, viz., that Buonaparte has ordered ten picked men from each battalion of infantry in Cataluña, and the same number from each company of foot artillery, to form a new Imperial Guard. This is a secret which will probably cease to be such by the time you read it. You will see that I am in very different spirits this evening from what I was last night; but you will admit, I trust, that it is with reason. In spirits or out, I am ever and entirely yours.—Adios.

To Mrs. C.

Salou, January 23.

With what delight I contemplate the hope of a general peace which may enable me to pass the rest of my life quietly with you, witnessing the growth of our dear pledges, and the expanding freedom throughout the world which this cruel war may be now fostering!

January 25.

Your love of *eloquence* will have led you to attend particularly to this point in our boys, and I shall think no expense whatever ill employed, which assists them in this most desirable of all accomplishments. There is no public virtue but becomes doubled in power by this acquirement, or shaded and thrown into the background by the want of it. I more regret my deficient education on this point than on any other; not for my own credit merely, but as a means of more effectually promoting the general good. It is shocking to see knavery and corruption bestriding the resources of a government through the medium of eloquent deception, whilst so many men of honesty and integrity stand aloof abashed, unable to avow in the face of the public those vir-

tuous sentiments they would have *reason* to feel abashed by not possessing. This I think the road to the most real and lasting glory, the glory of directly promoting the happiness of one's countrymen without hardening the heart to others' misery. I must own I cannot contemplate the life of a hero (other than such as defend the positive freedom of their country in a time of real danger) with half the pleasure that I do that of a senator who wards off that danger by foresight and by eloquence; because the very success of the former creates the misery of the most worthy, perhaps, whilst the other is the means of preventing it.

January 28.

An hour ago we were quizzing our *anchoring life* in the probability of passing a second night at sea; but a breeze springing up off the land will, I think, enable us to reach Areñs before midnight; and we now take our berth at any part of the coast, in the darkest nights, with the same familiarity as in open day. One would think I had great objection to being under sail; but, on the contrary, if it does not over-blow, it is the time of my greatest leisure and relaxation; and I hurry about in this way to keep up a more intimate communication with all parts, and to disconcert the enemy, who show some anxiety about my movements. Thus, by weighing after dark from Areñs, or any part of this side of Barcelona, before the French there know of my departure I am at anchor, perhaps a Villanueva, or even at Salou, before daylight.

February 1.

I find the order for Lacy's giving up the chief command to Eroles is actually come, and was published at Vich on the 1st. I learn also that a supply of 20,000 dollars is come directed to me, from Admiral Hallowell, for the army of Cataluña, which is a most seasonable aid; and the 'Leopard,' which is charged with it, is now, I believe, in sight.

11 P.M.

Instead of the 'Leopard,' 'Invincible' is come actually to relieve me that I may return to old England! It is ridiculous to write this, but yet I have a satisfaction in so doing, although I shall most likely be the bearer of my own letter.

From Adml. Sir Edwd. Pellew to Capt. C.

'Caledonia,' Mahon: January 17, 1813.

MY DEAR CODRINGTON,—My last note will have prepared you for looking towards home, which I had always intended when 'Revenge' arrived, and I had Adam in hand to relieve

you from your long and arduous exertions in favour of the brave Catalans, who will cherish your name and manifold services to them, for ages to come—and here I shall call a truce to compliments, however justly your due. I shall despatch you direct for Gibraltar, with my public letters and acknowledgments for all the zealous support you have given to me, and my satisfaction. &c., &c.,

EDWD. PELLEW.

Sir E. C. to Mr. Bethell.

Areñs de Mar: January 30, 1813.

The postponement of my return home is by no means repaid to me in the compliment of my presence here being of such consequence to the service; but I drag on through a privation which, by comparison, makes life almost appear burdensome, in the hopes of that real reward which I should find in witnessing an improvement in the affairs of this poor province, arising perhaps, in some small degree, from the aid of my persevering exertions.

February 7.

The 'Invincible' is actually come to relieve the 'Blake,' and a vessel is in search of me somewhere with my orders to return to England. We have saluted the French at parting, when going with a large convoy of carts and coaches along this coast for France, in such a way that I think they will hate me and the whole English nation till they reach the end of their journey.

From Capt. C. to Sir Edwd. Pellew.

'Blake,' Areñs: February 9, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your note, with its various accompaniments, reached me only yesterday evening by the 'Merope.' I cannot sufficiently thank you for your kindness respecting my return to England, the flattering confidence you have so long placed in me, and the very favourable light in which you have viewed my services whilst under your command—services which, however harassing to the mind, have been deficient of that attraction which is the characteristic of our profession; and which might well have passed unobserved by a commander less inclined than you, my dear sir, have shown yourself in every instance, to give credit for anxious good-will where there was no opportunity for brilliant execution. It is undoubtedly my wish to get home with all that expedition which may be consistent with my desire to leave nothing undone in which I can be useful to the great cause in which we

are engaged, the particular welfare of this exemplary province, and the success of our noble little friend Eroles. Anxious as I am to return to my family, I cannot separate myself from him and his brave countrymen without regret; and nothing short of the conviction that I am daily growing less equal to exertion, should have taken me from this station and the continued approbation of my Admiral, which is a reward I shall prize as long as I live. I have written to Eroles, who will, I doubt not, meet me here or at Villanueva as soon as his taking his new office upon him will possibly admit of it. He is now at Vich, and report says he is coming this way with the army to impede the return of the French from Gerona, who are expected with another convoy. If he does, I think with a repetition of the dose they got lately from the shipping, they will be very much put to it. The arrival of the 20,000 dollars, forwarded by Admiral Hallowell for Cataluña, is extremely seasonable, and will, I trust, set many more troops in motion. I have, of course, a world of things to talk over with Adam, in order to put him fully in possession of the state of affairs; and I have great satisfaction in resigning my charge to one so well adapted to the situation. Believe me, my dear sir, with great esteem and with a full sense of your kindness,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

To Mrs. C.

February 7, 9 P.M.

Eroles is actually in the chief command, and we have honoured his entrance into office by, as I am told, considerable destruction amongst the French troops passing with the convoy. One of the 'Blake's' 72-pounders is said to have knocked to pieces the wheels and lower part of the general's carriage; and I hear Eroles meditates preventing their return with a fresh convoy from France. I shall hear from him to-morrow, but I shall not quit the coast without once more shaking him by the hand. I have actually suffered two bad nights' sleep from thinking of my return to my dear, dear domicile, and worrying myself that I may not leave undone any duty to Cataluña in the hurry of my going away. God bless you.—E. C.

February 19.

Somewhere near the coast of Cataluña, in too thick a fog to know where. It seems ridiculous to write to you now that I am on my way home; but I cannot resist the pleasure of thus recording the feelings of satisfaction which I brought away from Mahon in consequence of witnessing the general

esteem of my brother-officers, as well as that of my chief and those who may be supposed to imbibe his sentiments from having the same foundation to build them on. I have tried hard to overcome self-satisfaction so far as to examine dispassionately the apparent approbation of those in whom envy might be expected to prevail: but I come out of these examinations with so much inward content that to avoid vanity I must now quietly take the point as granted. In short, I am in so delightful a disposition that it is a pity there is nobody here to ask me a favour! I write this ready for the chance of sending it by a packet from either Cadiz or Gibraltar, and it will at all events be ready to send up from Plymouth on our arrival. And that you may know the public terms on which I parted with my chief, I extract the following from the letter by which he announced his intention of sending me home:—

'I cannot refuse myself the satisfaction of expressing to you, on this occasion, my sincere thanks for the zeal and readiness with which you have, on all occasions, met my instructions in performing the duties of your station, and my high sense of the ability and judgment with which you have conducted the many difficult and arduous services which have been entrusted to your execution. It has been my care that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty should be frequently apprised of the merits of your services on the coast of Cataluña.'

Cawsand Bay: March 27.

Here we are. I know nothing yet of myself, but that I am as ever, your E. C.

This series of extracts (1810 to 1813) may perhaps be considered as forming a scanty and inadequate account of the interesting warfare on the coast of Spain, in which Captain Codrington bore an active part during those three years. I could have multiplied them to any extent from the mass of materials in my hands, consisting both of private letters full of anecdotes and details, and of communications with Spanish officers, relating to operations carried out in conjunction with them.

I have only refrained from doing so to avoid the risk of wearying the attention of general readers and spreading out to a disproportionate extent this portion of my Father's professional services; but it is with regret that I have suppressed the many interesting details which my materials relating to this period could have freely supplied.—J. B.

CHAPTER VII.

LESS than a year and a half did Captain Codrington remain in his home after his return to it. The war with America called him out of his retirement, and in May 1814 he left England in the 'Forth' frigate to go out to North America, and join Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane in the 'Tonnant,' as Captain of the Fleet. In this capacity he was with him in the 'Chesapeake' when the City of Washington was taken, the American flotilla in the Penobscot destroyed, the passage of the Potomac forced, and the City of Alexandria obliged to surrender all its shipping in the harbour; also when the combined naval and military force entered the Patapsco to reconnoitre Baltimore, when a most decisive victory was gained by the troops and a battalion of seamen and marines over the American army. He afterwards accompanied the expedition to New Orleans.

From Capt. C. to Mrs. C.

At Sea: June 1.

In a day or two we may possibly be passing over the spot where that battle was fought (of which this day is the anniversary), which excited perhaps as great a sensation in London as did lately the entry of the allies into Paris. Yet how entirely is it forgotten in the more recent events, glorious and ever-memorable as it was then termed! It will not, however, cease to be to me a great satisfaction to have had my little share in it. I have a right also to feel very thankful for my escape unhurt, both on that day and the 29th May preceding; for the danger in which the 'Queen Charlotte' was particularly placed might well have shortened the days of many who lived to tell the proud story. You may console yourself in the reflection that there is no such risk in our present prospect; but you must also recollect that there is no such harvest of credit to be gained in the execution of the service to which I am destined. In a review of my own

life, successful as some may imagine it, I do not see much temptation to recommend the same profession to my sons. Those dangers, both of mind and body, to which I have been exposed might make as little impression on them as they appear to have done on me, and they may escape, as I did, even without a mentor. But I confess the contemplation of it makes me shudder, and I feel anxious that they should begin their journey through life on a road of much greater security. Yet it is of little use my dwelling upon this point, since their own inclinations and abilities must decide it.

July 10.

On the 8th we spoke a brig from New Brunswick going to Martinique, by which we got some newspapers of that place. It seems that the 'Peacock' American sloop of war (of what size I know not) has taken our 'Epervier.' But the worst part of our story is, that our sloop was cut to pieces, and the other scarcely scratched! I do not know the captain or his character in the service. But I well know that the system of favouritism and borough influence prevails so very much that many people are promoted and kept in commands that should be dismissed the service. And whilst such is the case, the few Americans chosen for their merit may be expected to follow up their successes, except where they meet with our best officers on equal terms. It is said that that fellow ——'s people showed no spirit until he was wounded and carried below. Something of the same sort attaches to the name of Captain ——, whose ship did not do as well as her *reputed* discipline promised. This is the case with many of our *crack ships*, where the people, from being tyrannically treated, would rejoice in being captured by the Americans, from whom they would receive every encouragement. I have heard many shocking stories of cruelty and misconduct witnessed by the relators, officers now in this ship; and I hope the punishments will be more strictly examined into than they are now, by the late regulation of quarterly returns.

The 'Orpheus' has taken the American 'Frolick,' but this is no balance for the 'Epervier,' considering the circumstances of the two captures.

Commodore Codrington arrived at Bermuda on July 13 and joined the Flag of Sir Alexander Cochrane, under whom he was to serve in the capacity of Captain of the Fleet.

Bermuda: July 14.

We got into this intricate harbour yesterday evening, and I shall sleep here in 'Tonnant' until we go to sea.

July 16.

The Chief thinks that Mr. Maddison has gained his loan without difficulty, and that the war will linger on until we have more effectual means of changing their disposition. I must say Sir J. Warren was not justly supported; for instead of 100 he had not more than seventy sail, and as there is not water to take the ships up to any of the American towns, we must have more small vessels, of which we are lamentably deficient, as we are of flat boats and gunboats, and crafts of that sort. They have launched a *still larger frigate*, as they call her, the *Guerrière*, and Rogers commands her with his old crew. Decatur has the 'President.'

July 18.

Some very brilliant things have been done lately on this station, which, I trust, are but the forerunners of more. The most conspicuous is that of Captain Coote, under Capel's orders, which, probably, you have had in the papers by this time, 136 men destroying 2,500 tons of shipping close to the wharves of a populous town, and coming out through a chain of armed forces, which were a whole day preparing for them, and, with the loss of but one man, is very fine; and I trust promotion will attend the conduct of the parties employed. The *Major's* proposal to Captain C. to surrender is a capital specimen of Yankee writing, and I hope it will be given to the public *verbatim et literatim*. Next comes a brilliant affair of the boats of the 'Superb,' which destroyed 17 vessels, without any loss, and which will be a pleasant wind-up to the command of C. Paget, as well as that of his ally Capel, who will take him home. And the 'Bulwark' has also been pursuing the same successful warfare. I like my chief (Sir Alexander Cochrane) very much, and I hope I shall make him as contented with me, by pursuing my inclination to meet all his wishes, and to make myself of material use to him.

July 21.

The physician of the fleet told me just now that he went to get measured by a *Colonel Jeremiah Hurst*, the principal *tailor* in the island, who, upon receiving the form of address suitable to his military rank, condescended to undertake making the clothes required, which he declines when addressed merely as a tailor; but he finished by saying, that since he had treated him with the respect due to his station, he would certainly get the things made as soon as he could, but that, as he seemed to be in a hurry, he thought it fair to tell him that he would get them sooner if he sent to England for them.

July 27.

I can only write a line by 'Halifax,' to say that I never was better in my life, and cannot see anything to annoy me in my situation with the Chief, which is the great point. My heart is very much in this war, as you will see, but for all the duties and purposes of domestic lifethat heart is yours as ever. I much like General Ross; and his troops, Malcolm says, are glorious fellows for the Yankees.

Bermuda: July 29.

Perhaps we may find more leisure at sea, and the Chief talks as if he really intended to be off to-morrow, leaving Malcolm to bring the troops after us; so that the General (Ross), having made his reconnaissance, and settled his plan in conjunction with the Admiral, a blow may be struck at once. The infantry of the line come with General Ross amount to only 2,000, but with the artillery, marine battalions, and colonial troops, we muster 3,340, exclusive of the few marines the ships could land. I feel extremely anxious that we should succeed in the first attack we make; and I should prefer even a minor object with something like certainty, to a point of more consequence which might be doubtful.

July 30.

We are all extremely annoyed to find that these troops come from the Mediterranean under charge of our friend, Andrew King, in the 'Iphigenia,' with the 'Furieuse,' 'Euryalus,' and 'Bacchante,' and amounting to nearly 3,000, are commanded by General ——— senior to Ross, and neither a Wellington man, nor one who is known to the army. He may be a very good one, but he is not known to be so; and as Ross's division were made content with the trip merely by his coming at their head, it is a very unfortunate circumstance. I am aware that he could not have been intended to supersede Ross, and that some other, or some order, may be now on the way to adjust the error, upon its being known at home that he had been sent by Lord W. Bentinck. But we must consider him as the Chief, nor can we delay our operations under the expectation of such a change.

July 31.

The orders brought by me for whatever general might come with the troops from the Mediterranean, and which, from being at the most distant of these islands in the care of the Governor, did not reach him till to-day, have relieved us much by directing him to proceed to Quebec, taking the two weakest, and leaving us the third and strongest regiment

to join General Ross. I think the Canadian army will now make head into the territory of the enemy; and if, as we hope, Yeo has got his men for the 100-gun ship about to be launched, we shall improve in that quarter both on board and on shore. Operations in that part of the world will enable us to act, I trust, with more effect on the coast, by occupying the principal force of the United States. Maddison, like his friend Buonaparte, seems to become more desperate in conduct as his fortunes decline. But our Chief is aware of his tricks, and meets him at once. By offering 100 dollars for every British subject brought in, however taken and of whatever description, he has led the Admiral to direct the seizure of all Americans; and thus, instead of getting people to exchange against ours, we shall rather get ahead of him by this measure. So, by his removing the embargo and non-intercourse laws, in order to increase his revenue, he has led to a still greater destruction of that revenue by the general blockade. And by keeping back many of our people, in order, by various tricks and offers of bounties, to get them to serve America; and by illiberal refusals of usual indulgencies according to the cartel, he has led the Admiralty and the Chief under their instruction to send all their prisoners of every description to England until they pay up their debt. And, to crown all, by letting his generals in Canada burn villages again, after a former example of retaliation by Sir George Prevost, he has led Sir George on one side, and Sir Alexander Cochrane on the other, to direct the severest retaliation in all parts till he remunerates the Canadians for their losses. He has been trying to excite terror; but, as you may shortly see by the public exposition of the Admiral's orders, the terror and the suffering will probably be brought home to the doors of his own fellow-citizens. I am fully convinced that this is the true way to shorten this Yankee war, whatever may be said in Parliament against it.

'Tonnant,' at Sea: August 8.

We are now on our way to the Chesapeake (mind you don't tell the Yankees!), and we expect that the troops will come out of Bermuda to-day in order to follow us. The more I see the more I like our two Chiefs and their notions of the warfare on which we are entering; and if the war should continue through this winter, I think we shall turn the time to good account.

At anchor off the Chesapeake: August 11.

The Chief desires I will remind H. to send an order to employ me on detached service whenever it may be desirable.

Without such order he can only employ me as Captain of the Fleet.*

2 P.M.

Wainwright has just been trying the heat of the sun on deck, and his thermometer rose to 133. In my cabin, however, it is only 82. We have just let go our anchor in sight of the Tangier Islands, where we have a fortified port. Cockburn is upon an expedition up the Potomac. The fever in this river is not considered dangerous, although it is so prevalent during these two months amongst those who live on shore. The thermometer is 82½ in the salt water alongside, and 78 in a bucket of fresh just out of the hold.

August 13.

The wind does not favour our advance upon this unpicturesque river. Low, flat sandy banks, covered with pines, is all we see, and we cannot approach either shore on account of shoals. Never was there a greater contrast than betwixt this part of the American coast and Cataluña: not a thing is there here to attract the eye, for one cannot even mark the entrance into either of these great rivers without having them pointed out by a person of local knowledge.

August 15.

We had an interview last night with Admiral Cockburn in the Potomac, and are just anchored off Point Look Out, betwixt that river and the Patuxent, where we await the arrival of the troops from Bermuda. Cockburn has been on shore with the battalion of Marines in various parts, carrying all before him, and there is no symptom of sickness amongst them. We are widely separated, and this Chesapeake is like a new world. My heart, however, is not likely to incline to the Yankees, and I feel that it is yours as ever. E. C.

On board the 'Iphigenia,' near Benedict, in the Patuxent: August 21.

We got the 'Tonnant' up this river as high as most of them on the night of the 19th, on the morning of which day we entered it. But the Chief wishing to give the General every personal proof of his desire to assist him, thought it best to take up his quarters temporarily with our friend Andrew King, who treats us in good friendly hospitality, as he did you. Commodore Barney and his Baltimore flotilla are, it seems, gone up this river as high as possible, *out of harm's way*; and our troops will yet have a long march, and Cockburn a long run, to get at them. The sailing up the Patuxent is very pretty; and our numbers all crowded together, without

* Although now promoted to Rear-Admiral of the White.

either of us knowing the navigation, made the scene very interesting. It is astonishing how little else than misery is observable in the few habitations which are to be seen on either bank of this river, fitted as it is for commerce, and apparently for delightful residence. In this is the contrast which binds one to old England. I think it may also be considered a comparatively extraordinary circumstance that we have not found an enemy to assail us in the course of about sixty miles that we have explored, although the cliffs which occasionally arise on either bank offer facilities apparently irresistible to a people so disposed to hatred and so especially hostile to the navy of England. The army landed yesterday at Benedict, and I went up the river to-day with the Chief to make them a visit at a place called Lower Marlborough; from whence we left them at two o'clock again about to march. Lower Marlborough is on the left bank, however, and the troops on the right; but the Marines of our flotilla land and take post opposite, and the few Militia which the country has make off as fast as they can go.

August 22, 9 P.M.

An express boat came this evening from Admiral Cockburn to tell us that Commodore Barney had blown up the whole of his gun-vessels at a narrow part of the river above a place called Pig Point, upon our flotilla getting in sight of him. It would have been more suitable to our future object to have got possession of these vessels, but it is at all events satisfactory to have forced him to such a measure, by driving him up to the extremity of such a river, so distant from the Chesapeake into which it empties, and without any previous knowledge of the soundings. Pilots there are none to be had; nor indeed have we found any intelligence or information about the country upon which we could rely, notwithstanding the previous notice sent by the Chief, and the necessity of such provision being particularly urged by him to Admiral Cockburn. We are seldom out of bed after nine, unless something particular arises; and half-past three has been sometimes our rising hour, not later than four generally, and daylight the latest.

August 28.

Yesterday we got a note from Cockburn to say that our little army met the Yankees, at least double their force, at a place called Bladensburg, posted upon a hill, secured by works, and with ten guns. The battery was so concealed that Col. Thornton, of the 85th, was posting his men to rest

a little after a most severe march out of exercise, when it opened a very destructive fire. Tired as they were, our brave fellows turned the position of the enemy, and advanced with fixed bayonets; upon which the enemy flew in all directions. The army then advanced to Washington, the great Federal city, the capital and pride of the Virginians and all other the supporters of the Jefferson and Maddison party, and the haters of everything English; the city which secures the Democratic party in power, and in speaking of which the editor of Maddison's paper observed lately, in detailing the entry of the Allies into Paris, 'Thank God! our capital is safely beyond the reach of all the powers which can be sent against it!' Upon reaching the town, a paltry set of a few hundred opened a fire from a large house, and scampered away as fast as possible. This house was burned immediately, and afterwards, the Capitol, the President's house, the Treasury, the War Office, the *National Intelligencer* office, and some other buildings. It seems that they themselves had already set fire to their naval yard, to a new frigate just coppering, and to a sloop of war, besides the ropewalk &c., &c., &c.; and they, moreover, blew up the bridge which crosses the Potomac into Virginia to secure their retreat. To this we are to add about 50 pieces of cannon, and Fort Warburton or Washington, a bomb-proof erected to secure the great city. Our loss in killed and wounded I understand to be about three hundred, and amongst them are Colonel Thornton of the 85th, severely wounded by a musket-ball which has splintered the bone of his thigh high up; he is left at Washington; and we have also left about sixty wounded at Bladensburg, who were not fit to be moved. A Captain Hamilton is killed, and there is a Major Brown and a Major Wood, also of the 85th, wounded. General Ross had two horses killed, but is well; and none of the sailors are hurt. Cockburn, Wainwright, Captain Palmer, and Money were with the army. I have taken a leisure moment to tell you thus much, but of course you will look to the *Gazette* for particulars. Maddison was in the field of battle, and must be rather annoyed at finding himself obliged to fly with his whole force from the seat of Government before twelve hundred English, the whole force actually engaged. Commodore Barney turned his gun-vessels upon the approach of our flotilla, and then took command of eight thousand men to defend the approach to Washington. He was taken severely wounded, and is left at Bladensburg, on parole. I know not yet the probable number of the enemy killed, but they ran away too fast for our hard-fagged people to make prisoners.

August 31.

We have got our troops all on board again; and King, whose guest I still continue, is just getting his anchor up to go down the river. I have not much to add about the capture of Washington, because the public letters will tell you everything better than I can. I find Colonel Thornton's wound is not in itself a dangerous one, and that the fear of his doing ill arises from occasional spasms of great severity, which may be the precursors of lock-jaw. Neither are the wounds of Colonel Wood or Major Brown in themselves considered as dangerous. And it is to be most anxiously hoped that three such brave fellows may live to enjoy the honour they have gained in the eyes of everybody. There is an anecdote of a grenadier of the 21st, which shows the difference betwixt a soldier of this army, and those of our enemy. The poor fellow, fagged by a hard march, was stooping to fill his canteen at a well some distance away from his comrades, when two Yankees leaped upon him, secured his musket, pinioned him, and so forth. After going some little distance he begged to have his arms untied that he might eat a mouthful of biscuit. This was granted; and as they were going on apparently in a very peaceable way, one of the two stepped forward to see if all was safe on the main road, whilst the other kept charge of the prisoner. They had not sat down above five minutes when the *sentry* fell fast asleep. The soldier watching for a chance, got his knife out as quietly as possible, and contrived to cut the cord which secured his hands; he then seized his own musket from his enemy and knocked his brains out. But as he was desirous of making a complete job of it, he waited patiently the return of the other, after examining his piece to see that it was in good order for service, and the moment he came in sight he shot him dead. You may think this, however soldier-like, a sort of legal butchery; but it is an act of well-performed duty nevertheless; and were it not so estimated England would not be what she is. But I will now give you an anecdote which you will like better. Maddison himself had set on fire that part of the bridge from Washington to Virginia which was contiguous to the latter, and our people were just doing the same to the part joining the former, when a woman, blind, poor creature, with alarm at the supposition that the whole town was to be fired, ran on to the bridge with her children in order to escape. Three of the Johnnies who had just set fire to the under part of the bridge, called to her to stop; but the more they called the faster she ran. They sprang after her, and whilst one seized and

brought off in safety the poor panic-struck mother, the others did the same by the children. And thus was this family protected by enemies at the risk of their lives; whilst multitudes of their own countrymen were flying from a handful of British troops, weak as children from fatigue, with scarcely anything but their courage to make them formidable. Formidable indeed, however, has that courage made them. For Commodore Barney, who alone of the chiefs seems to have at all stood his ground, confesses that he did not think it possible that men could have walked up to a battery of *ten* guns in such a determined manner as he then witnessed. It is scarcely credible that men, that flesh and blood, should be brought to such determination. But General Ross as well as Colonel Brooke, who is sitting beside me (quite well) have both confirmed the fact of three men (I think of the 4th) having fallen lifeless with sheer fatigue whilst walking up to this very battery. I believe I have overrated our loss: but perhaps I have underrated the force employed. The bayonets amounted to little more than 3,500, but with artillerymen, drivers, sailors and all, besides officers and sergeants, they were little short of 5,000 people.

September 5.

We are now going down this oven of a river with a fine breeze, and after visiting the Islands of Tangier, where, under the direction of Admiral Cockburn, we have gone to great expense, we shall quit it entirely, for the present at least, and I hope with the troops in good health and ready for another dash. The sickly season here is about at its height; and from the uncommonly cadaverous appearance of the natives who are in health, the country, with all its beauty of scenery, is not fit for the habitation of social man. It is curious to observe the animosity which prevails betwixt what is termed the *better order of people*, which I think is more a misnomer here than in any country where I have ever been. Their *whig* and *tory* are *democrat* and *federalist*; and it would seem that for the sake of giving vent to the bitterness of hatred which marks the Yankee character, every gentleman (God save the term) who takes possession of a property, adopts the opposite political creed to that of his nearest neighbour.

September 10.

We could not get a communication with them in time to send it by the 'Iphigenia,' but we have now to detail the proceedings of our ships in the Potomac, which will make a glorious addition to the business of Washington. They were

commanded by Captain Gordon, of the 'Seahorse,' who lost a leg in Hoste's battle in the Adriatic; and his conduct on this occasion best describes his character. Napier of the 'Euryalus,' was wounded by a musket-ball in the back of the neck; but he will do very well. They overcame difficulties which would have dismayed many men in either of the two professions; and they have brought out twenty-one prizes, many of which they *weighed, caulked,* and *masted,* as well as *loaded*; and then forced their way through the most difficult shoal navigation, in spite of batteries erected to stop them, and a vast number of troops firing down on their decks in the narrow parts. The frigates were even obliged to take their guns out on account of getting aground, and put them in again. In short, it is nothing less brilliant than the capture of Washington, and those employed deserve laurel crowns. We were bent on other plans, but hearing reports of vessels being sunk and batteries formed to prevent their return, we decided on making the safety of these ships our first consideration. We are relieved from a great load by their rejoining us with so little injury, because we had pushed twenty miles up the Potomac with our whole force in order to effect their recovery, if necessary. Jonathan must, I think, be somewhat surprised to find a ship like the 'Tonnant,' accompanied by so large a fleet, going up and down these rivers by night as well as by day without pilots, each taking care of the other, as the colliers do going up the Swin. We *were* going out of the Chesapeake directly: but the Chief has assented to another operation here at the wish of the General and Cockburn, which I think would have been much better deferred until our return from the northward, according to the Admiral's own plan. I hope and think it will equally succeed, because we are determined it shall; but it would have been better insured by postponement I think, and without danger of illness: and I am decidedly of opinion that our operations elsewhere would have been more favourable to the army in Canada.

On board the 'Surprise,' in the Patapsco.

The work of destruction is now about to begin, and there will probably be many broken heads to-night. The army, with as many seamen and marines as could possibly be spared, were landed this morning, and are now on their march to the town of Baltimore, distant about fifteen miles by land, and twelve by water. The bomb-vessels, brigs, and frigates are all pushing up the river with an eagerness which must annoy the enemy, I presume, as much as it delights me. Three frigates are aground abreast of us, hauling themselves over the banks into deep water by main strength, each

trying to surpass the other, and all of one mind—'seeking the bubble reputation even at the cannon's mouth.' Some of the Yankee troops made their appearance just now, but a shell dispersed them: the four or five mounted officers, however, still remain spectators; not aware perhaps that if they continue there merely thinking of *us*, they may find a worse enemy in their flank. I do not like to contemplate scenes of blood and destruction; but my heart is deeply interested in the coercion of these Baltimore heroes, who are perhaps the most inveterate against us of all the Yankees.

September 13.

Last night we received the distressing tidings of General Ross being killed by a rifle-shot whilst reconnoitring the position of the enemy. The ball went through his arm into his body, and he died on his way towards the place of embarkation. He is a most severe loss to his country and to us at this most important juncture; and to his wife, with whom, after long experience, he lived in the sincerest affection, the loss of all her earthly bliss! I pointed out to him all the difficulties I saw in this attack, into which he was persuaded by Cockburn and a Mr. Evans, who acts as quarter-master general in this army, and that the only chance of success was in the panic of the enemy, the probability of which was gathered merely from the American papers. What the army may find on the land-side I know not; but on this side the enemy is so well prepared for defence by nature and art, that we can do little either towards capturing or destroying the town. I told the General that in reality we had no information, for I could never consider the mere hearsay of people not responsible, as worthy of reliance; and we now find this a very different place from what that hearsay led us to believe. What I said and proposed was mere furtherance of the plan of the Admiral, which was built on the best foundation; and I was surprised that so sensible a man as General Ross should be led away by the opposite opinions. I have, however, belied my internal qualms by avowing a confidence in our success ever since the decision was made, and the hopes I had have now yielded to fears. Heroism will do wonders certainly, and there is that still to look to; but, I believe there is too much on hand even for that, and I wish the job were well over.*

From Sir Alexander Cochrane to the Admiralty.

(Extract.)

'Tonnant,' Chesapeake: September 17, 1814.

I have to express my acknowledgments for the counsel and assistance which in all our operations I have received from Rear-Admiral Codrington, the Captain of the Fleet.

* Note by Sir E. C.—The attack was deemed unadvisable, and the army re-embarked on the 15th without molestation.

Captain C. to Mrs. C.

September 17.

Captain Bruce goes home in command of the 'Raven' on this occasion; there would not have been a vessel sent on purpose but for the death of General Ross; but that measure being now necessary, Captain Crofton takes the despatches of Sir A. C., and a Captain McDougall of the gallant 85th takes those of Colonel Brook the successor of General Ross by seniority in this army. The latter is a young man who has served in that conspicuous regiment with great credit, and if you should be in town, you will probably have a visit from each of the three. Crofton you already know.

September 18.

I have just been gratified by your letter of 30th July, which is the only one that has yet reached me since that of 3rd June. Little did you think that the other stray letters had not arrived; and yet, however much you may have said of her there, it seems wrong to have left out our Janey's name in this. Nor indeed am I half satisfied with your not saying more of the others, full as your letter is, because I have been actually famishing for some account of you all.

September 20.

We are now working down the Chesapeake in order to push on to Halifax, and I think we are not likely at present to stay in the same atmosphere long enough to poison it.

It would be easy for any person situated as I am to brew up points of dissatisfaction if such were their inclination. but I am not an officer of *p's and q's* any more than my Chief; and as I have determined on taking that as well, which is intended to be so, our union is more likely to be more strongly cemented. than torn asunder. The faults which annoy me arise from excess of good nature, and improper indulgence to others who possess his regard and who take advantage of it. But whilst there is plenty of business on hand and he continues to estimate my exertions, there is no fear of these circumstances making a breach. I see I did not finish my history of our trip up the Patapsco; but the *Gazette* and our General Orders, which I will send upon the termination of the Expedition, will explain everything.

September 24.

We are now bothered by a heavy swell which there is not enough wind to overcome, and as this lightning sort of weather seems to be prevalent, I fear we may be detained long on our passage, and be therefore straitened in our stay at Halifax. For you will find that we have much to do

from henceforward through the winter, which is to me a great satisfaction.

September 25.

I have taken up my pen merely to give you an anecdote I just heard from the Chief. It arose from an observation about the theory of books being opposed to professional practice, of which Sir D. Dundas is said to be an instance; for when an adjutant justified himself one day against Sir D.'s censure by an appeal to his own book, he received in reply, 'D—— my book, Sir, it's all nonsense.' But my story refers to a regulation of his, that in all military evolutions the leading officer should fix on some particular *object* for his direction. Sir D. very angrily accused Lord Cavan on an occasion of this sort of swerving in his movement, telling him he had fixed on no object. 'Yes, I have, Sir,' said Lord Cavan. 'What is it, Sir?' asked Sir D.; to which his lordship replied to the discomposure of all the auditors, 'That pretty girl in pink with the child in her arms.'

September 27.

We have just made the land of Nova Scotia in a very strong north-wester, which splits all our sails and breaks all our cordage, and which is so cold that we cannot walk ourselves warm.

September 28.

Affairs are going extremely ill in Canada. I wish they would send Lord Hill to Canada and Sir Thomas Picton to act with us; for then, I think, we should bring this war to a brilliant as well as a speedy conclusion. It is too late, I apprehend, to retrieve our affairs in Canada; which appear to have been let to depend entirely upon the naval success upon the lakes, and which success probably depended upon the casual fate of either commander. Captain Downie fell, it seems, by the first broadside. I cannot imagine that any want of seamen contributed to this disaster, since each of the many ships which have gone to Quebec have had as many drafted as they could possibly have; and some of those belonging to this fleet have been so entirely unmanned there as to be laid up in waiting for others to navigate them down the river. I sadly fear a prolongation of this war will be the consequence of these events. We must therefore look a little forward into next summer, when I had fondly hoped to be snugly moored at my own home.

October 4.

I had a very pleasant ride with Commissioner Wodehouse to-day, and saw some beautiful scenery—scenery which

tempts me to say—here I should like to live,—but for the recollection how little mere beauty of prospect contributes to happiness if ungraced by the society one loves.

The 'Tenedos' is quite in the 'Shannon' style, and it is thought Captain Hyde Parker, who commands her, would on a similar occasion acquit himself à la Brook. The 'Acasta' is also a pattern ship now, having left off that over-polishing which has done so much michief.

Halifax: October 9.

Upon the subject of Edward's school I think we cannot do better than try the one at Havant. I lean towards this plan because I think a scientific is preferable to a classic education. The latter is a sort of mere polish, which, however it may grace the gentleman, has but little value if the material under it be not of sound and substantial texture. The former makes one man truly superior to another, gives full scope to the powers of the mind, and creates that inclination to self-instruction which is the real education that distinguishes through life. There is no doubt that the greater part of the instruction which people possess is received through their own observation; and, therefore, I say, 'teach the mind of youth to observe, to compare, and to combine, and they will educate themselves during their daily occupations, whether they may be in study or in amusement.' No other education has fallen to my share, and I consider you my principal instructress in any points in which I may be at all beyond the generality of my brother officers.

With your letters came my commission as Rear-Admiral of the White, and also a new one as Captain of the Fleet. Why this last was deemed necessary I know not; but I have paid for each by a draft of £10. 15*s*., which is sent to Mr. Croker. The double jump at once to R. of the White is certainly flattering; and I have said as much in my official letter, as well as in my answer to Lord Melville's note.

There has been some gross neglect apparently in the management of the convoy which came out with the 'Antelope;' and also some want of attention in letting one of those captured, a very valuable ordnance transport, get safe into port. She had, amongst other things for Quebec, sixty guns, which will now serve to arm the new American ship of the line at Boston, the 'Independence.'

October 14.

By noon to-day we shall have already reached about 250 miles to the southward, although we only cleared Halifax yesterday morning; and we *hope* this wind, although some-

what diminished in strength, will bear us on to the end of the first stage of our journey. But where are we bound? that is the question which all on board are desirous of knowing. The time is not yet come, however, for the disclosure of this secret, of which the last date of this letter may probably inform you, if you should not have learnt it from others in England.

I must say, I think the Admiralty have behaved very shabbily about the pay of Admirals. But it seems fated that, although we may occasionally have a liberal individual amongst them, we shall never have a liberal Board of Admiralty. Here we feel the loss of Lord Nelson; a man who, having served honestly and disinterestedly himself, knew how to estimate the sacrifices made by others, and to value their services accordingly.

October 21.

The Chief has at length avowed it publicly in the ship, and I may therefore tell you, that we are going first to Guadaloupe. Whether any prize money may turn up or not, time alone can determine, but I can assure you it is *our* last consideration; and I may as truly say, that our first is that the object of the Government in this war may be most fully and effectually attained.

9 P.M.

It did not occur to me this morning, when I dated the 21*st*, that it was the anniversary of the day which created such a sensation in England, balancing betwixt the gain of so great a victory and the loss of so beloved a hero! It is right, however, that I should not forget that I had a humble share in the battle, and that I had the good fortune to come out of it unhurt, and to enjoy the satisfactory recollection of that event in the bosom of my family, from whom one stray shot might have separated me for ever. That I have a religious thankfulness for this good fortune, you, who know my feelings, may well understand. I think you may also believe that the greatest comfort arising from my safety I find in the enjoyment of your society and your sincere affection, the wife of my choice, the mother of my children.

Guadaloupe: November 4.

We arrived here yesterday morning, and the first piece of news which I heard was, that my excellent friend Brown was dead. You know how much I lament this event, which came upon me so very unexpectedly, and which will be severely felt by his family.*

* Admiral William Brown died with his flag up, at this time, at Jamaica.

Here they are as healthy as in England, and a most beautiful island it is. And as to the luxury of the table, by what I have seen these two days, it is all a gourmand would desire, provided he could eat when the thermometer is at 84°. Yesterday we had a little deluge. It rained six inches and a half in three hours, and did great damage. *We* are living very cool, comparatively, in the Government house, and have horses always at our command, so that I have the opportunity of contemplating this, to me new scene, with some satisfaction. Sir A. takes an interest in every bush, as well as every man, woman and child in the island; and this, as well as the universal popularity he has here, prove that he was what a governor ought to be. I have great pleasure in witnessing this, as you may suppose, and I wish others could also witness it who have a false estimation of his character. But I took up my pen to mention poor Brown only, and shall now say good-night.

November 5.

I am much gratified by my ride up the mountain this morning, for I never saw more wild and beautiful scenery. Mataba, the governor's house, is about 2,000 feet above the sea; but the *Sanfrière* is above 5,000. This I shall not undertake, because, besides being of more difficult access, it is greatly inferior to Vesuvius, which I have seen. Our road passed across a ravine, by a bridge over the rapid river which rushes along through the most beautifully varied cliff I ever saw. The variety of different trees which cover the ravine on each side is beyond belief, and they are all beautiful and extraordinary.

November 6.

The people of this island will, I suspect, have cause to regret the change in their government, for there are already sixty clerks come to do what eleven have done under us, and the whole of these, and others who will come with Linois, as well as the troops, are to be paid by the islanders, who will be taxed enormously, and be unable to profit by the permission to purchase negroes.

Guadaloupe: November 8.

This is, in itself, probably more worth seeing than any of the West India Islands, except Trinidad, and therefore I consider my coming here as very fortunate.

November 11.

One of the Commissioners come to receive possession of this island is a Monsieur Vaucresson, who was in our regiment of Montalembert just after the French Revolution; was

afterwards in the Dutch army, and, finally, in the service of France, having returned there, I conclude, with other emigrants when that permission was granted by Buonaparte. He is very pleasant, gentlemanlike, and intelligent, and either he or his comrade, General Boyer, has been next to me at dinner every day since our arrival here. He gave me a most ridiculous account of the operations of the D. of Y.'s army in Holland; and his history of the Scheldt expedition is still more extraordinary. He was sent to Antwerp upon the plan of attack being first known, and he says that if Sir J. Hope had been suffered to go on, five hundred men could have traversed the country with impunity: that Fort Lillo, which was so well prepared at last, could not have made the slightest opposition if it had been attacked at first. V. says that upon his going to inspect it, the commissioner of the fort put into his hands a letter worded by Buonaparte himself, which he considered as his death-warrant. 'I well know your character for courage and devotion to your duty, and I rely upon your giving fresh proof of it in the defence of the fort under your command. I expect that you will die in the breach rather than surrender upon any terms whatever.' 'Look round, my good friend (said this man to V.), at the state of this fort, and see if it is possible to make any resistance; and I am sure you will agree with me that the order I have received is nothing less than my condemnation. I am, however, determined to obey it, and I beg of you only to explain to my friends my situation and my conduct.' The indolence of Lord C., and the activity of the enemy, shortly placed all the other forts as well as Antwerp itself in an excellent state for defence. But V. says that even at the last, when we came away, they had not more than 1,500 regular troops, and that the Dutch and the mere conscripts who were brought forward for the occasion, were only fit to make a show. He assured me that we might have taken and destroyed Antwerp, pushed forward to Brussels, levied an enormous contribution on all Belgium, and embarked at Ostend without meeting with anything deserving the name of opposition. He knew everything that passed at our head-quarters in the course of a few hours. This man may describe all this with a Frenchman's colouring; but besides that I see no reason to doubt his veracity, even making allowance for that, and taking into consideration what we know of the proceedings of our own great Commander, there is plenty to show the disadvantage of trusting such an army to his direction. I have had another gratifying view of the picturesque beauty of this island in a ride at daylight this morning, which I consider as my farewell to it, for

we talk of sleeping on board to-night. I forgot to mention to you an anecdote which struck me forcibly at the time the spot was pointed out to me as the last retreat of those who were struggling for liberty. A considerable number of people of colour who saw no hope left but a return to slavery, by joint consent blew themselves up together rather than ask life upon such degrading terms.

Guadaloupe: November 12, 1814.

The pleasure I had promised myself in this visit to Jamaica is destroyed by the loss of poor Brown, who would have delighted so much in so unexpected a meeting. I shall, however, be glad to have seen this island. I believe I told you in my last of our breakfast with a Monsieur Beaupain in the most beautifully retired valley I ever saw: I would give much that you could have seen it with me. It was quite the sort of scene St. Pierre describes as tropical beauty, and he might have painted our host and hostess and their family as happiness personified, for they had all that appearance of quiet content which at least forms the ground-work.

'Nous nous trouvions seuls au monde,
Personne ne pensait à nous,
Et dans cette paix profonde
Tout nous disait aimez-vous.'

Kingston, Jamaica: November 20.

Several different circumstances concurred yesterday to excite my feelings. The principal one perhaps may still act upon them, for I cannot help dwelling upon it with considerable anxiety; I mean the account I received of the illness of our dear twins in your letter by the 'Pigmy.' The visit to the Pen where poor Brown breathed his last was also a cause of excitement, as you may suppose, as well as the details of his mode of society, &c. And you will not imagine that I could with indifference view the house, and perhaps the very room in which you were born. The garden is much neglected. I have brought away a few seeds of the castor-tree, out of which our Janey shall have a necklace by-and-bye. Bunbury's* letter is very satisfactory, and we shall, I trust, again exercise the Park and Tower guns. They are certainly doing the best for us now in every respect, and both Generals Keane and Gibbs are well-chosen men for the purpose they have in view, although the former (intended for second to Ross) may not yet have proved himself equal to the larger command, which now devolves on him until Lord B. may send a superior over the whole.

* General Sir Henry Bunbury.

Off Port Royal: November 27.

I saw to-day the medal sent out for poor Ross. It is beautiful, and does credit to Bunbury's taste. We joined Malcolm and the troops at Negril Point on the 24th, and hurried away for the coast of the Mississippi yesterday, having got over an immensity of business in that short period, but leaving as usual much undone.

As to the meeting at Ghent being broken up or not, my former accounts will have shown you how little probability I saw of a peace with America, and I think the force come and coming here to join us is very confirmatory of my opinion. There is nothing for it but forcing a disposition for peace, whether the Madisonians like it or not.

December 1.

We are now trying to get sight of the land in that part of the Gulf of Mexico which is destined to become the scene of important operations, and we have changed our climate from a temperature of 84 to the more enlivening one of 70. We have spoken a schooner which tells us of the Americans having taken Pensacola with an army of 5,000 men. I imagine a collection of such a number must contain some very inferior men who will not make an effectual opposition to such fellows as we have to pit against them. And I rather hope, the enemy having attacked the Spaniards may be favourable to us in more ways than one. First, by making them all join us, and next by enabling us to treat Pensacola as our own if we should become conquerors of it. We have at length got our printer on board, and he is at work about a proclamation, or rather, an address to the Indians, which I think will make you laugh, as it did me whilst I was drawing it up.

Off Apalachicola River: December 3.

Colonel Thornton, who came with Hardy to dine here to-day, told us that Maddison went to two different people's houses in Virginia in his flight from Washington, who each refused him admittance; and that a turnpike-man told him (Thornton) that he rode through his gate at about nine miles an hour, whipping his horse with all his might. This amusing anecdote shows that even amongst his friends the Virginians, his popularity is failing; and Colonel T. says that the loss of Washington was generally laid to his account. Colonel T. was treated with the most marked kindness, and was permitted to live at Washington. He was one day walking with Commodore Tingey who commanded the naval yard, and asking what building had been at the spot they were passing; the Commodore said, 'There

was a shed there, under which we had a ship of the line in frame, which was burned with the rest.' Colonel T. mentioned this afterwards to Commodore Barney, who said, 'There was no such thing, that they had once thought of building a ship of the line there, but they had not proper timber for the purpose.' Tingey is an Englishman, and it is therefore impossible not to give his word a preference to Barney's, even if he were not by his office the best acquainted with this matter. I took up my pen merely to tell you this, and, adding only, that the gallant fellow who told it me is quite well, with merely a little limp in his walk, I shall put it down again.

December 10.

On the 8th we anchored betwixt Ship Island and the Chandeleur Islands, where we still are, waiting the arrival of the troops. Yesterday morning we went to make a visit with all the boats of this ship and the 'Ramilies' to Gordon of the 'Seahorse,' which ship with the 'Armide' and the 'Sophie,' is lying betwixt Ship Island and the main. The weather came on very dirty, and the Admiral did not think it advisable to send the boats after the five American gun-vessels, which are still about twelve miles nearer to the Lakes Borgne, &c., by which they justly conclude we mean to approach New Orleans. *I* think they might have come up with and carried them; but the Admiral considered the risk of failure too great. The more I see of him the more I like Sir Thomas Troubridge. He gave us a very gentleman-like reception, and for our numbers we found excellent accommodation. He seems to be correct and officer-like in his ship concerns, to have a zealous desire to distinguish himself, and not to forget the cultivation of the mind.

December 14.

We got on board the 'Armide' again last night, and shall make her our head-quarters for the present. I find I have not yet, however, mentioned to you the arrival of our magnanimous allies Kings Capichi and Hopsy (or Perriman), with their upper and second warriors, the Prophet Francis, Helis Hadjo, the ambassador from the Big Warrior, &c., &c. We had the honour of these *Majestic Beasts* dining with us two days in the 'Tonnant,' and we are to be disgusted with a similar honour here to-day. All the body clothes they get they put on one over the other, except trowsers, which they consider as encumbrances it should seem in our way of using them, and they therefore tie them round their waists for the present, in order to convert them into *leggins* hereafter.

Some of them appeared in their own picturesque dresses at first, with the skin of a handsome plumed bird on the head and arms; the bird's beak pointing down the forehead, the wings over the ears, and the tail down the poll. But they are now all in hats (some cocked gold-laced ones), and in jackets such as are worn by sergeants in the Guards, and they have now the appearance of dressed-up apes. I think I shall be able to send you a little account of them and their mode of living, drawn up by one of the officers sent to organise them.

River Mississippi: December 16.

During the night before last we learned the welcome news of the whole five American gun-vessels being captured by our boats. The severe row from three o'clock in the afternoon of the 12th, from the 'Tonnant' up to the 'Seahorse,' about twelve miles off, and thence during a very cold night, with wind and tide against them, obliged them to anchor, although in sight of their opponents. The latter, by daylight in the morning, had increased their distance to eight or ten miles. On the 13th, at nine in the forenoon, the boats had again, by great labour, reached nearly within shot of them, but were again obliged to anchor in order to feed and rest the people. At 10.30 they again weighed, and Captain Roberts's division drove one schooner on shore. The Fort of Port Louis fired on the boats, but took fright, and burned not only the schooner but the depôt of naval stores there. At eight in the evening the boats were again obliged to anchor, owing to sheer fatigue. At four in the morning of the 14th they renewed the chase, and at 9.30, being just without range of the long guns of the enemy, who opened his fire upon them, once more anchored in divisions abreast of their opponents, who had been also obliged to anchor, and were moored with springs in a good position for mutual support. At 10.15 the attack was made, or rather the plan of attack formed, for owing to a strong current our boats did not open their coolly reserved fire until 11.30. At twelve, Captain Lockyer, in the barge of the 'Seahorse,' seconded by the 'Tonnant's' launch, boarded and carried the 'Commodore,' after a very gallant resistance and consequent loss on our side, and the others were carried in the same manner, but with less difficulty. Lockyer is severely wounded, and also the lieutenant (Pratt) of the 'Seahorse,' as well as two midshipmen (these three since dead), besides one other midshipman in the same boat killed. I believe hardly one in the boat escaped. Fourteen, I am told, in our launch were either killed or wounded, and she sank alongside the

enemy. Amongst the latter is one lieutenant (Roberts) and three midshipmen; the first slightly, and the others, Uniacke, O'Reilly and Drummond, severely. We cannot procure a correct list at present, but I hope to do so shortly. It is a most brilliant affair, and brilliant consequences may attach to this success. For, besides that we have already forwarded to the advance nearly one thousand troops in these five gun-vessels, we expect by their means to take a fort which guards an important pass, and to impress on the minds of the New Orleans people the folly of resistance. These gun-vessels will probably give *us* that command on Lake Pontchartrain, on which the Americans by the same means founded their reliance. But the distance we are still off, after the great advance we have made, is more than we expected, and time must elapse before our work is all done. It would sound odd to some folks (perhaps even to the Lords of the Admiralty themselves), but the answer I gave to those who asked where to go and which was the way, was, 'Keep on under all sail after the smaller vessels a-head until your ship sticks fast in the mud;' then find out deeper water, and go forward as far as you can get your ship by any means of 'lightening her,' &c. And here we all lie, heads and tails, in much less water than would swim us, with all our anchors at the bows. I have, however, just manufactured an order for all the ships to haul into floating depth and moor, whenever they have got rid of their troops.

December 23, 9 P.M.

You would be somewhat astonished if you could see the place in which I am now writing. It is a new shed, thatched and made altogether of reeds, neither wind-tight nor water-tight, occasionally inhabited by fishermen, situated on a part of a mud bank, rather less wet than the surrounding swamp. Here the Chief and I hung our cots last night about twelve o'clock, and here we are, at all events, to pass to-night. On the 18th we quitted the 'Armide,' and joined the advanced troops on a similar spot to this, which is called appropriately Le Village de Maranguins. On that point, about thirty miles from where the frigates were, we assembled the whole army, as a half-way house; but the labour of effecting this with our small means (the boats alone), and transporting the necessary ammunition and provisions, is beyond description. To the distance, however, is to be added a severity of weather not characteristic of this latitude. The Admiral, the General, and myself shared a marquee, or rather a regular subaltern's tent; and, being put up in a hurry, the Chief and I, whose

cots were on some reeds spread on the damp ground, had a considerable leak over each during one of the wettest nights I ever knew. The morning produced a N.-W. gale, as bitter cold as we could have felt in England; and the nights of the 19th and 20th were so severe as to produce ice an inch thick in tubs; so that in a thin tent you may imagine that we were not over warm. The 20th and 21st, however, I had two very good days' wild pigeon shooting, in which we worked successfully for the spit, and none of us were wanting in spirits and mirth, I assure you. Yesterday morning we took leave of that land of alligators and mosquitoes, of which no description can give an idea, and embarking about five thousand men in the boats and small vessels of all sorts which we could collect, we pushed over together for this *Bayou des Pécheurs*, or Fishermen's inlet, by which the army has been conducted up to an unexpected place of landing. They were already (in spite of all difficulties of landing, where one only can go at a time, and making the way passable with layers of reeds) at four o'clock this afternoon upon the road on the bank of the Mississippi, and we now hear a heavy cannonade, by which we conclude they are under the guns of some fort or other, for our army have none but mountain guns with them. We left the former precious spot at about 10 A.M., and after anchoring the gun-vessels, &c., or rather running them into the mud as near this as possible, we took to our boats again at 7 P.M., in company with all the boats full of troops, in three divisions, and caught the militia outpost of twelve men by surprise in their huts. The whole of the army of the advance, about two thousand men, were landed at daylight.

December 27, 1814.

I cannot let this day pass, my dearest, without one line to say that my sentiments would direct me now to the same preference which united us twelve years ago. I trust I should feel the same in this respect were I in a situation of comfort with you, or anywhere else, instead of being in the smoke of a *green wood fire*, courting warmth in as miserable a hovel as you ever saw. Christmas morning introduced Sir Edward Pakenham and his suite as the avant couriers of a reinforcement which, I think, will be found necessary to overcome the difficulties which the publicity of our attack has enabled the enemy to throw in our way. I believe there never was a more arduous service undertaken under these circumstances of publicity; and how the Admiral can stand it, I, who share with him, am at a loss to make out. Neither

day nor night can we contrive to make ourselves comfortably warm; nor have we a table, chair, or stool. Our trunks and gangboards make seats, and our plates and dishes are of tin, and made by the armourer. Yet, following the example of our Chief, we are more mirthful probably than we should be if we were possessed of other comforts to supply the place of this only one—mirth. On the evening of the 23rd our army was attacked by all the force the enemy could muster, just as the men were cooking, &c. The beginning was made by an armed schooner dropping down quietly, with furled sails, and opening a shower of round and grape upon the corps bivouacking on the bank of the Mississippi. The whole American army then advanced in the dark, and threw in a very destructive fire, which made our people retreat until they could get into order. The ground was then recovered, and, indeed, more ground gained, and the enemy paid severely for his attack. But we have lost, in killed and wounded and prisoners, above 200; and as we have not more than from seventy to eighty prisoners to show for it, I doubt if his loss much exceeds ours. The truth is, our army was taken by surprise. They thought the vessel a merchantman moving down; and the enemy, knowing his ground, could move his troops under every advantage. The prisoners say they were told we had but two or three hundred in our advance just landed, and they had about 4,000. We had landed about 2,000 bayonets, however, and they were in hands used to noble resistance. We have lost in killed and wounded about fifteen officers, all remarkably fine fellows. Stoven, the Adjutant-General, wounded through the neck, and Major Hooper, his assistant, who lost a leg, are both doing well; but this part will be detailed in the official report. On the 14th, four American dragoons came to reconnoitre where four of our 95th Riflemen were posted. They agreed to fire together; and each brought down his man, which is considered 'a *very pretty* thing.' I was interrupted here to assist in removing our establishment into a double tent (one within the other), as being deemed warmer than the hovel in which we have been smoked. In the meantime news is come of the battery of guns we have by great labour sent up for the purpose, having, by the dexterity of our artillerymen, burned *the* American schooner, which '*exploded beautifully.*' The ship upon this is trying to get up to the town again, but the current is strong against her, and we are hurrying guns forward to serve her as the schooner has been served already; and I expect the army will move forward this evening. I am now exercising my pen under the canopy of Heaven; and I am clothed in two

pair of trowsers and two coats; three waistcoats, and so forth.

December 31.

We moved yesterday up to a house in which Sir E. Pakenham still is, as well as several wounded. I got my cot put down in a sort of butler's second pantry; but as it was floored, I took off my clothes and slept in my shirt only, which I found a real luxury. The weather is much warmer and quite fine, and I have sent for two more purser's blankets, which will come before another severe cold set in. But I think the cold which, with all the aid we could muster of coats, &c., and sleeping in our flannels, prevented our sleeping at times, arose more from the damp of the ground than anything else. I am writing in a gig, rowing as fast as we can down this Bayou or inlet, in order to forward the landing of supplies; therefore, don't abuse my scrawl. Send me the dressing-case that Lord and Lady Howe jointly gave me. It never yet was so, but would now be really useful to me. I never was in better or stronger health, and it should seem that this bivouacking is good for both the Chief and myself.

Head-Quarters, near New Orleans: January 4, 1815.

On the 1st we had our batteries, by severe labour, ready in situations from which the artillery people were, as a matter of course, to destroy and silence the opposing batteries, and give opportunity for a well-arranged storm. But instead of so doing, not a gun of the enemy appeared to suffer, and our firing too high was not made out until we had expended too much of our *hardly*-collected ammunition to push the matter further. Such a failure in this boasted arm was not to be expected, and I think it a blot in the artillery escutcheon. We have by this allowed the enemy to increase our difficulties and gain spirits; and the harassing job of withdrawing the guns half buried in mud, occasioned by the pouring rain of that night, wore down the whole army as well as the poor Johnnys who had the heaviest part of that severe duty to perform. The arrival of General Lambart and his two capital regiments has, however, revived us, and as soon as they reach the camp we shall renew our offensive operations. I believe there never was a more arduous task undertaken; and we shall perform it yet, and the greater glory will be our due.

My omission in not naming the twins (in a former letter) bespeaks no want of recollection of them, poor little dears, who so perpetually present themselves to me in their

mere infantile guise; for *I* can only ask and wonder, whereas you can *give* the information the heart of a parent requires. *I* am *here* my only child, and that child is gifted with health more robust than he has known for a long time. I can see Hal, 'sitting conspicuous on his birthday,' which I passed by unheeded; but I trust other such days are in store when I shall not want my flapper.

Head-Quarters: January 9, 1815.

I had certainly hoped, as my letters will have shown you, that before this time I should have been able to tell you we were in possession of New Orleans; but all these hopes are now gone, and we have a very sad story to relate in return for all our laborious exertions. The reinforcement of the 7th Fusiliers and the 43rd Regiment with General Lambart decided Sir Edward Pakenham on assaulting the position of the enemy yesterday. A particular feature in the plan of attack was *our* cutting a canal into the Mississippi, into which river we were to take our boats in order to convey a force to the right bank, which, assisted by some of them as gun-boats, might surprise the enemy's batteries on that side by which our front was enfiladed, and turn them upon their line instead. I do not know how far this measure was relied on by the General. But as he ordered and made his assault *at* daylight, I imagine he did not place much dependence on it. By exertion which is beyond belief, we dragged in fifty boats during the night; and Colonel Thornton, with his remaining 85th (of about 300), and some seamen and marines amounting to nearly as many more, were on shore by daylight. This whole operation succeeded beautifully; and the guns in the enemy's batteries were unspiked and beginning to open on them, when the disastrous state of affairs on this side occasioned an order to Colonel Thornton to retire and come over again. Two of the regiments ordered to assault were inferior in discipline and ill-commanded, it is said; and it certainly required the best of the very Wellington stuff to stand up through such a fire as the enemy opened upon their near approach. The head of the assaulting column, however, shook; and in the endeavour to rally it and profit by the loss thus far sustained by a little further advance into the enemy's line, the gallant Pakenham received his mortal wound. General Gibbs, whose division was destined to assault, shared the same fate at about the same moment, each within fifty paces of the enemy's line; and General Keane received two musket-ball wounds and a severe contusion. Besides these, you will see a heartrending list of the

most gallant soldiers in our army. Lambart, our only remaining General, had but to retreat in the best manner he could, leaving the ground in front of the enemy's lines covered with killed and wounded. There never was a more complete failure; and the American lines having only been reached by a few whom it was easy to overpower, they have scarcely had twenty casualties, I imagine; whilst ours, including all, will probably amount to *two thousand!* Every body may now find out that the attack should have been made at another time, and each may differ with his neighbour. To you, however, I shall say, that although I could never presume to *offer* any opinion to an officer of such character as Sir E. Pakenham, upon his asking my sentiments after giving up a former intended assault on account of the unexpected failure of our artillery, I told him, that I really thought this business should be done in the most regular, scientific manner, and not by a sacrifice of lives in an exhibition of bravery; and that I was sure by forming a flotilla on the river with our boats, and landing a respectable force on the opposite bank during the night to take their batteries and turn them against them, we should oblige them to quit their present formidable position. He seemed to think so himself, and Sir A. Cochrane had proposed this plan at the first. But probably the General reckoned on Thornton's landing *certainly* being effected earlier, and did not like to countermand an order for attack a second time.* It is certainly a fault in these Peninsular Generals—their exposing themselves as they do; and more particularly in a war of this sort, where the opponents fire a few shot from behind a bank, and run the moment you force their position. They appear bold as lions whilst in these fastnesses, and they will

* The following circumstance is described by Commodore Codrington as having been one cause of the delay in Colonel Thornton's getting across the Mississippi:—

The troops having been brought in boats up a bayou between which and the river there was no actual water communication, a canal or rough passage had to be cut to make boat communication with the Mississippi, for the troops under Colonel Thornton to pass over to the right bank. As the navy would have had to rush the boats up this passage against the probable incoming stream of the river, by seamen on shore dragging the boats, it was suggested by Commodore C. as essential, that the men, in digging the canal, should throw the earth some distance, in order to give a firm path or platform at the edge for the seamen to work upon. Unfortunately, this was not attended to. The earth was thrown up close to the edge, just as it was dug out—the seamen could not make their rush with the boats—and the jamming took place which caused delay in getting the boats into the Mississippi.

This was related by Sir E. C., at a later period, to his son, W. J. C.

never remain long enough to enable us to profit by a gallant charge, contenting themselves with having effected a loss in men which too often overbalances the success of the contest. Sir E. P. had even been reproved by Lord W. for exposing himself too much, and thus setting an example injurious to the welfare of the army. And I must think this is a very grievous fault in men who have established their reputation for that courage which our countrymen will insist upon our showing in such very evident colours at some period of our services. To you I shall further say, that if the assault had been deferred, as it was before, until the effect of the brave Thornton's movement was seen, and our artillery had again been opened on that of the enemy, we should, in my humble opinion, have succeeded after all. In this I find most of the dispassionate military men agree; and if we are right, we should have performed the most scientific and beautiful operation without loss of any moment as a prelude to our success, instead of throwing away the most valuable soldiers of our country by an attempt bordering on desperation. You will, of course be very cautious in divulging my opinions on this important subject. I shall, however, possibly give them myself to Bunbury, because he will judge them fairly and turn them to any utility of which they are capable. I am writing in *public* and in a mixed conversation, with the interruptions of Sir A. about his public letter.

January 11.

We have this morning a report, through a flag of truce respecting an exchange of prisoners, that the Americans believe us to be now actually at peace in other parts. It would be much more shocking in such case that this battle should have been fought, than that of Toulouse, where a brilliant victory crowned their bravery. But I cannot think this report true unless particular events have taken place within the United States to make Maddison yield to our proposed terms. I will, however, say God send it may be so! for since this failure my hopes of producing a serious effect on the whole Union, in consequence of our winter campaign, have, as you may suppose, diminished grievously.

As to any speculation about my returning home, you will know as much as I possibly can; this coming spring will probably make some material change upon which all may turn, although such change will not be effected as I had hoped, by our success at this place. —— may bluster against private letter growls, if he likes; but Sir A. must then complain in public letters of the deficiency of the means required for our operations. Besides the publicity, both in England

and at Jamaica, we had none of the requisite vessels of a small draught of water, nor has a single victualler or vessel with battering train made her appearance. We are, consequently, now at half-allowance of bread, and under great anxiety about the means of feeding the troops, even after having sent ships we could ill spare to the Havannah and other places, and having ordered every pound of bread, &c., at Jamaica to be purchased, besides emptying the contractor's stores; and the labour of conveying the heavy guns of the ships first above 70 miles in boats and small vessels, and afterwards upon their own small trucks instead of the proper artillery machines, over three long miles of soft, boggy ground, has proved a cruel addition to our various labours. I am this instant relieved by news of the arrival of the 40th Regiment and eight victuallers.*

On board 'Cydmus' frigate: January 18.

We left the fisherman's hut on the 14th, reached one of the gun-vessels that evening, slept in her most stinking cabin two cold wet nights, and got on board this frigate to a comfortable dinner on the 16th. Our presence was certainly much wanted at this anchorage. However, we have got over a great deal of business, and the Admiral talks of going to the 'Tonnant' to-morrow. It is well contrived that our battering train, with the proper means of transporting guns, the want of which has cost us so much toil, and caused the destruction of our guns into the bargain, has just made its appearance upon our giving the matter up in preference to undergoing a repetition of that Herculean labour. Were I to mention this to ——— he would call it growling; he must therefore hear it in what appears to me a less welcome way, *officially*. And by the same means he must hear that the expedition would certainly have been successful if we had had the small craft which Sir A. wrote for. He says they have them not, and orders them to be procured at Jamaica. This order, and making that place the rendezvous, occasioned the object we had in view being made known to General Jackson. Vessels of sufficiently shallow draught are not, as the Admiralty imagined, in use there; and, as Sir A. says, there are plenty of Dutch schuyts and doggers in England, which, by being

* In Sir Alexander Cochrane's letter to the Admiralty, January 18, 1815, describing the attack on New Orleans, he says:—

'Rear-Admiral Codrington accompanied me throughout this service, and I feel much indebted for his able advice and assistance.'

loaded with provisions, would have made their purchase answer, and disguised the object, into the bargain. ——— will find that unless he has at the Admiralty colleagues of a different sort to aid him, he cannot bear the weight of his arduous situation. There must, I think, be a change there, and the situation is made so irksome and disreputable, that the men who would do it most credit will readily give place to those who will court it for their own selfish purposes.

January 28.

General Keane had on the 8th pantaloons of a thick worsted stuff which saved his life. The ball took the waistband of these pantaloons a considerable depth into his groin carrying the pantaloons with it. In the waistband of his drawers it made a large hole, and a still larger in his shirt; but such was the elasticity of the worsted, of which the pantaloons were made, that it not only resisted perforation effectually, but actually jerked the ball out uninjured, leaving a very severe wound of great depth.

General Lambert is at length come on board, after seeing all the troops re-embarked, and I hear it reported that we are going to Mobille Point, where, although they must be prepared, they cannot offer much opposition. The fort at the foot of the town is about 30 miles up the river, and I conclude that also, although of more strength, must fall, if we attack it regularly, for which we now have the means.

February 2, 1815.

I have written little notes for the children, by Thornton, who is a prime favourite with us all, in whom 'worth has made distinction.' . . Alas! we appear to have lost the flower of the flock in Sir E. Pakenham, who fell a sacrifice to the errors of others. All those here agree that he was the next man to look to after Lord Wellington; and there was a something about him which made me look forward to a future intercourse with him as a source of great satisfaction.

Anchored off Mobille: February 11.

Amongst the curious assemblage of people who form our establishment occasionally, we have at present three Americans under a flag of truce about the exchange of prisoners. The principal of these is a Mr. Livingstone, brother of the ambassador of that name. He is a first-rate lawyer, it seems, in America, and he is certainly a man of much information and anecdote.

February 13.

I hardly know how to describe the sensations I feel in consequence of the 'Brazen's' arrival with the news of peace being signed, and waiting only the signature of Mr. Maddison to be carried into effect. That peace on any terms is a source of joy to me of which my eager desire to return to my home, and my unwillingness ever to quit it, is a full guarantee: but I cannot help viewing the terms of this peace as discreditable to the country, and I feel it the more since our failure at New Orleans. I certainly had hopes that the Americans would have been emboldened by their success on that occasion, and would have ventured to meet us upon the open country in this neighbourhood, and exposed themselves to that dressing which our people are well disposed to give them. The news therefore is not quite so welcome to me as it would have been under other circumstances; and I have a melancholy sort of dread of some disaster to our trade arising out of the reported cruise of that Captain Porter who is at sea with a squadron of cruisers, and probably come to the southward, where he may have time to commit great depredations before the adjustment of peace can reach him.

February 14.

After a visit to General Lambert, who has received a printed copy of the articles, which are too advantageous to America for Maddison to hesitate signing the peace, the Admiral came on board to a late dinner full of eagerness to move towards the Chesapeake, or, as I am told, to Bermuda. He seems most amazingly cast down by this peace, which indeed we had so very little reason to expect; and he is all eagerness to be off to the Chesapeake to learn the decision of the President.

February 15.

Although my No. 14 contained the account of the surrender of Port Bowyer, I repeat it in this which will reach you first of the two. Further operations against Mobille are to be suspended until the decision of Maddison arrive. If, however, it should be for war, it will be too late to hope for any attack being successful.

Off Mobille: February 17.

We are preparing to leave Malcolm in the command of the troop-ships, &c., and to move ourselves first to the Havannah, and then the Admiral says to the Chesapeake. I live in hopes of our getting news of the ratification before we quit these parts, in which case I think it probable I may

be sent to England with it in the 'Seahorse,' which would be exactly what I wish, and what her captain wishes also.

Yesterday I made a visit to Dauphin Island; which, destitute of all beauty, is nevertheless the best ground possible for a bivouac, and therefore strongly impressed as they are with the miseries of the *Bayou* banks, the troops are quite delighted.

February 22, 7 P.M.

We are trying to hold our own off the mouth of the Havannah for the night, in order to get into the harbour at daylight in the morning.

February 23.

The wind is strong out of the harbour and our pilot is a true 'paciencia' Spaniard; and as we are not very alert at warping, I doubt our getting in to-day. I do not repine at this, because I neither think it worse for myself nor the service that we should be delayed here until the fiat of the President is officially notified.

February 24, 9 P.M.

We are just returned from a dinner with the Admiral Governor Apodaca, whose manner is pleasant and gentlemanlike. With respect to the town, it is very inferior to what people expect of it, nor does there seem to be anything worth seeing in the environs except a formal road and walk betwixt two rows of trees. The harbour is very good, and the works for its defence I presume as good as they are extensive, but we are not permitted to see them, perhaps that we may not discover what is nevertheless very evident, that they have not one-tenth part of the force necessary to defend them.

February 26.

. . . . . Neither is there any truth in the report of my being on any other than the best terms with Cockburn, or that I am likely to have any real difference with him. The little differences of opinion which take place respecting arrangements amongst men who are all guided by honest zeal, however their personal ambition may clash momentarily, will not last long. And I will vouch for the whole of my brother Admirals here being of this description. How often do I differ in opinion with Malcolm also: yet can I say I never saw a more zealous fellow in my life. Indeed it is nothing but his over-zeal which leads him out of the best road to gain his object; and on that road I would gladly keep them both if I could.

God bless you all!

E. C.

March 2.

We got out of the Havannah this morning and are now (noon) working along the Cuba shore in our way through the Gulf of Florida to speak Cockburn on the coast of Georgia; and I trust by the time we get there, the ratification of the peace will send us to Bermuda in our way home, even if the Admiral should not adopt the to me more welcome plan of despatching me in a frigate with the intelligence.

March 3.

I purchased Lord Nelson's letters a few days ago at the sale of Captain Langford's effects—the very Langford so often named in those letters when wounded. I had read them hastily before, but I am still more impressed on a second perusal with the disgrace of their being made public. If the ungrateful woman who deceived him in not destroying them, had shown them to any friend of his, it would have been well worthy a subscription to have purchased them and prevented their circulation in print. Even I who knew him but little personally, would willingly have paid the price of these books to have merely read them and seen them destroyed.

9 P.M.

We are just now pushing through the northern part of this nasty Gulf of Florida, which is certainly a most dangerous navigation.

March 7.

The glad tidings of peace being ratified by Mr. President Maddison on the 17th February, have this minute been announced to us by a poor little American schooner, which has taken the earliest moment she could of profiting by it. It has truly gladdened my heart. I would give all my share in the harvest of prize-money to be now making sail for dear old England.

March 10.

We have had our say with Cockburn and are now again at sea in our way to Bermuda. Of Hope's capture of the 'President' I need say no more than that it seems very creditable. Hope's letter is a very modest one.

Bermuda: March 18.

I have the Admiralty communication of the K.C.B. honours, dated the 3rd January. What may be the opinion others have formed of this business I, of course, cannot judge, but I for one approve the plan. I should certainly have been gratified to hear your *Ladyship's* opinion on this head; but I trust

I shall shortly do so where my heart yearns to be at this moment. I shall be well content to find you and all your darlings as well in health as your ever affectionate E. C.

Upon the termination of hostilities with America Admiral Codrington hoisted his flag in H. M. S. 'Havannah,' Captain Hamilton, to return to England, and arrived at his home in Charles Street on the 16th April. Before leaving the station he received the following letter from Sir Alexander Cochrane:—

'I cannot allow of your departure from hence without first expressing to you how much I feel obliged by the zeal and ability which you have displayed in your public situation while under my command, and how much benefit I have derived from your counsel and assistance in the active services in which the fleet and army have been employed.'

To the Secretary of the Admiralty Sir Alexander Cochrane wrote at the same time:—

'I take this opportunity to request that you will be pleased to express to their Lordships my entire satisfaction at the manner in which Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Codrington has conducted his public duties while Captain of the Fleet upon this station, during a series of active operations, in which I have greatly benefited by his advice and assistance.'

In the portrait, painted in 1805, which forms the frontispiece to this volume, my father is shown to be wearing powder, and he continued to do so for many years after—in fact, as long as the habit of gentlemen made it imperative; and though he left off the *queue* as soon as it was admissible to do so, I can still remember him as wearing powder, in my early childhood. It was my habit to go to his dressing-room of a morning, and sit on a little stool reading to him Miss Edgeworth's charming little stories, stopped every moment by him for commas, pauses, or intonation—while he carefully trained me in the art of reading aloud, an accomplishment which he excelled in himself, and by means of which, in later years, he added such pleasure to our home evenings.

But my young eyes were not busied in reading alone, but in the amusement of watching the successive processes of the dress of those days. There was the

careful and deliberate shaving, and then the elaborate powdering: there was the white 'powdering-cloth,' spread out upon the carpet, the 'powder puff,' which seemed to me to do a fairy's work, the matter-of-fact 'powder knife' that cleared off the fairy's work from forehead and temples—and finally the critical operation of putting on the neckcloth. That article consisted of a square yard of whitest jacconot, very carefully folded. It began behind, crossed in front, crossed again behind, and finally met in front; the voluminous folds being confined by the neat little bow into which the ends were tied under the chin, and which surmounted the very full and broad shirt-frill of finest cambric. There was a dignity about the old style of dress not to be matched by the jaunty negligence that has taken its place; it was unspoilt by ornament; chains and rings and jewelled studs were unknown to it; and would have been as much an incongruity in the dress, as an inconvenience to the wearer here spoken of.

The little dressing-room was full of prints, and I became familiar with the faces of Lord Howe, Lord Nelson, Lord St. Vincent, and Captain Riou 'the gallant and the good,' and the pictures of the battles of the 'First of June' and of Trafalgar.

But there was no austerity in that room or any part of that house, which was a real home of joy, in which amusement and training went on together. Well do I remember, though I was but six years old, the patient care with which, when staying in the country for a time, my father persevered in adjusting a telescope for me, till at last he enabled me to catch the figure of a child running about in a distant field—to be present with that which was out of sight, or to see that which was not present—while he enjoyed my puzzled delight at the discovery of this beautiful wonder, which made me feel as if standing in two worlds at once.

When at home in London he would take me out for early walks, and run races with his little girl up and down the little slope of ground between Grosvenor and Stanhope gates, where *then* existed what few now re-

member, and many will scarcely believe—that riding school of Mr. Fozzard's with its stabling and its attendant chickens, which have now been succeeded by beautiful flower-beds and ornamental seats.

We both delighted in looking into shop-windows, and he delighted in explaining to me their contents; and by way of helping my understanding, he would stop in the street to mark out a circle on the muddy pavement with the point of his umbrella, and thus bring down to my comprehension the difference I could not take in verbally, between a large segment of a small circle and a small segment of a large circle.

Then, he knew so many people that greetings in the street were incessant. Of course I asked 'Who's that?' and 'Who's that?' and on one occasion was greatly startled by the answer, 'That's the man who was killed at Waterloo;' for the friend we had just met was a very tall and stalwart-looking man, of upright carriage and bearing. And then I was told the story of how General Ponsonby had been severely wounded in an advance and left on the field of Waterloo; had been speared as he lay on the ground by a French lancer passing by him in his flight; had been relieved by another French officer, who, seeing his sad condition, had given him brandy from his own flask, instead of 'passing by on the other side;' had held a conversation with a set of Frenchmen who stopped in their retreat to raise a heap of bodies and fire some last shots at the enemy from behind that direful rampart; had lain all night untended on the dreadful field of battle with a wound through the lung by which the air passed in; and finally was found there the following morning by his own people, and carried into hospital! When I again saw 'the man who was killed at Waterloo,' he was Governor of Malta (in 1827), with a dear wife and little boy; and in spite of the wound which made him write so stiff a hand, he was playing violent games of rackets with as much energy as the young soldiers around him.

The battle of Algiers took place in August 1816. This was naturally a subject of great interest to Sir E. Codrington, and drew from him the following letter to his former chief:—

From Sir E. C. to Lord Exmouth.

Mildenhall: October 20, 1816.

My dear Lord,—Now that the bustle of public admiration is beginning to subside a little, you will find leisure, I trust, to accept the congratulations of a humble individual, who takes a deeper interest in your success, perhaps, than many of those who have been more conspicuous in their praises. I rejoice in this success, not merely on your own account as an Admiral under whom I served with so much confidence and satisfaction, but as a means of again calling the attention of the country to our service, which has been so extremely neglected. And I trust that the combination of gallantry and seamanship which enabled your Lordship to terminate at once a war which excited forebodings of long protraction, will renew the good maxim that 'the security of England depends on her navy.' That you may long enjoy the honours which you have so bravely gained, is the sincere wish of your Lordship's most faithful and obedient servant,
Edwd. Codrington.

The Lord Viscount Exmouth.

From Lord Exmouth to Sir E. C.

Cheltenham: October 21, 1816.

My dear Sir Edward,—I assure you I have received no congratulations which afforded me more sincere pleasure than your own. I know how to appreciate them, because I know the talents and judgment of the man who writes them, and am well convinced he would not have given me his hearty approbation if he did not feel that I had done my duty. I assure you, my dear Codrington, that our joint services in the Mediterranean are always recollected by me with pleasure. I should be ungrateful if I did not acknowledge myself your debtor. I derived all the advantages of your exertions, and you were but ill requited; but your day will come in despite of all that official power can do. I am putting Lord M. to the test for a medal to the fleet, and he argues *Waterloo*. Upon comparison I say that, as that battle can never be equalled, to say that no medal should be struck to record in England the abolition of Christian slavery, is to say neither army nor navy shall ever hereafter merit such a gratification. Nor have they been liberal to the poor mids; and the poor C. B.'s, except Brisbane, have no reward. God bless you. It is no use to growl. Believe me faithfully yours, Exmouth.

In the year 1823 sorrow for the first time fell upon this happy family: the cause and extent of it will be seen in the letters of one of the sad-hearted parents.

From Sir E. C. to Miss Treacher, at Tours.

Brighton: January 20, 1823.

It falls to my share, my dear friend, to act for my poor fellow-sufferer, and let you know that, after a long and almost uninterrupted happiness in our children, we have lately received an account of one of the 'Cambrian's' boats being overset in a squall of wind, and of our too dear Edward being one of those drowned by this horrible accident! It is now nearly a fortnight since this sad news reached us, by means of private letters by way of Trieste, from one of the lieutenants and two of the midshipmen to their friends, so as to exclude every ray of hope; and yet no letter is arrived from Captain Hamilton himself! One of these explains that the ship was off Hydra; that the boat was going on a particular service with thirteen persons in her in all; that our poor Edward, a merchant, the coxswain, and three of the crew were drowned; and that the others got on shore after having been four hours in the water. I think it possible that the delay in sending the official account may arise from a wish to find the bodies; but, at all events, it adds greatly to the distress of the poor mother as well as myself. It has been her wish as well as mine to have sooner informed you and your good sister of this cruel misfortune; but, in truth, it has not hitherto been in my power to perform the task. It has cost me much, I assure you, to tell my sad story to those near at hand, who, like ourselves, were liable to have learned it first by the common newspapers; and even at this very minute has my pen been stopped by the sobs of the too affectionate partner of my affliction in the adjoining room. Even yet she seems to feel as if she had had but this one child only; although she is becoming more composed, and begins to take more pleasure in having the others about her. This will, I trust, improve daily, for they are real treasures. Not one moment's pain do they ever give us except in anxiety for their health; not one word of displeasure ever passes amongst them. The conduct of ——— has been what one might, indeed, have expected, in sympathising with and consoling her mother; and I must say that no parents were ever more blessed in their children. Our William is at Dresden, and is hardly yet apprised of the loss of that dear brother, betwixt whom and himself there was a real brotherly attachment, which it was so much our delight to witness,

and which has been expressed by Edward in his latter letters in most beautiful terms. All his late letters, indeed, in spite of the eager pursuit of his profession and the absence it necessarily occasioned, breathed a most delightful attachment to that home which, as he expressed himself, he 'so dearly loved,' but which, alas! he was destined never again to cheer by his loved society. As his poor mother says in the paroxysms of her grief, 'here in his home circle he weaved his little web of future happiness.' From all those who had lately seen him during their travels, as well as from professional friends, we had accounts of him which might content the fondest parents; and, perhaps, to the preference of him for the service in question, we now owe all our misery! He had just passed his nineteenth year, and would have finished his midshipman's time in April; and I had asked and expected the command in the Mediterranean in hopes of forwarding him through two if not three steps, and of having him, at all events, with me and his family for the next three years; and thus is the blow made more severe. Whether I shall now go there or not, I neither know nor care; all my private object and my proud occupation of leading my son up in my own profession in which I had such fair hopes of seeing him an ornament, is cut off in a moment! You, my dear friend, who know the heart of this best of mothers, and with whose warmth of regard no distance can interfere, will partake of our sorrow and sympathise in the loss of our dear Edward jointly with your sister, who had been very kind to him, and whose kindness he would never have forgotten. God bless you.—Your sincere friend, EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From Sir E. C. to Miss Shirreff.

Brighton: January 25, 1823.

I will no longer delay, my excellent friend, taking up my pen to relieve your anxiety about my poor fellow-sufferer; . . . . . but I have found it difficult to write to any but those who, having known our dear boy, might the better excuse the weakness of making him my only subject. You, my dear Eliza, who did know that his meekness and his grateful sense of every little attention was not inconsistent with a fine bold spirit suited to our profession, know also that the ardent pursuit of that profession and all its privations, did not wean his honest heart from home. . . . . We had lately had a delightful account of his manners, his conduct, and even his appearance, from Mrs. Beauclerk, who had been a passenger with her family in the 'Cambrian;' and the enclosed account of him from one who, as the brother

officer who sent it me observes, knew not that it would ever meet the eyes of his parents, proves that parental partiality had not overrated his rising merits.

Extract enclosed from W. D. Hedley.

'Cambrian': November 19.

His father and mother will be inconsolable; he was more than a parent could hope; clever, accomplished, and devoted to a profession that he would have honoured. He has fallen in the prime of youth, only 19. The melancholy circumstance happened from a boat overturning in a squall; four of the boat's crew perished. Captain Hamilton is much affected; indeed he was beloved and admired by all who knew him: he honoured me with his friendship, and I feel his loss bitterly. Few know what it is to see a person snatched from life so quickly. I dined with him, and sat next him two short hours before. Everything recalls him to our recollection: he was most intelligent without being obtrusive, and was listened to with pleasure.

Postscript added by Sir E. C.

By another private letter we learn the 'Cambrian' was at anchor in Garden Bay, off the Castle of Hydra, eight miles distant, and that the boat was going on a particular service when the fatal accident happened. The bodies had not been found on the 20th November. But there is yet no letter from Captain Hamilton.

As a man may be judged of in some degree by his associates as well as his avocations, I may mention that among my Father's chief friends in familiar life were Dr. Wollaston, Sir John and Lady Gore, Lady Mildmay, Mr. Compton, Mr. Faraday, Lord and Lady Dacre, Sir Isambard Brunel, Mr. Charles Young, and Doctor Liddell.

In professional life, Admiral Sir George Montagu, and his brother Captains afterwards Admirals, Sir Richard King, Lord Galloway, Sir Thomas Hardy, Sir Benjamin Hallowell, Sir Charles Paget, Sir Thomas Williams, Sir George Cockburn, Sir Francis Hotham, Sir Thomas Troubridge, Sir Robert Stopford, Sir Graham Moore, Sir James Saumarez, and (later) Sir William Parker.

His one patron in early professional life was Lord Howe.

In the sister service, Generals Sir Henry Bunbury, Lord Lynedoch, Sir Henry Fane, Sir Hussey Vivian, Sir John Keane, Sir Lowry Cole, Sir James Kempt, Sir Henry Torrens, Sir Herbert Taylor, Sir Frederick Ponsonby, and (later) Sir Hercules Pakenham.

In social intercourse and in the pleasant côteries of his home society, Sir Humphry and Lady Davy, Mrs. Marcet, Mrs. Somerville, Mr. Sydney Smith, Bishop Stanley, Sir Francis Chantrey, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Bishop Bloomfield, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Babbage, Mr. T. Moore, and other men of his day of similar stamp.

Of statesmen also, there were among his friends many names of high eminence; but the list would become too long if I added any more.

Music was one of the charms of life to him, and he loved to combine it with the pleasure of society; but the combination was not always satisfactory to him; for the unrestrained conversation of the talkers who only wished to talk, drowning the voices of ladies who had been petitioned to sing, he viewed as a specimen of ill-breeding which always vexed and annoyed him. He could not join in the view of music as being 'a good background for conversation.'

Science too, every kind of natural science, was a delight to him, and he was a constant attendant at the Royal Institution; enjoying the lecture most especially when Mr. Faraday was the lecturer. Having no pretension whatever to any except the nautical science which alone formed any part of his early education, he was yet always welcomed among them by scientific men; who found in him an interested and intelligent listener, capable of appreciating and enjoying that which he obtained from them, and which they seemed to take equal pleasure in imparting.

In December 1826, Sir Edward Codrington was appointed to the command in the Mediterranean, a circumstance which led to the most important event of his professional life.

He hoisted his flag in the 'Asia,' 84, and sailed from Spithead on February 1, 1827, having all his family on board with him, his eldest son then a captain in the Guards, having obtained leave of absence for a time, and his youngest son a midshipman of 18 years, having been appointed to the flag ship.

From Sir E. C. to Dr. Wollaston.

Malta: February 23, 1827.

I have continually wished you were with us, my dear Wollaston, because there have been many days during our passage in which a person might have escaped sea sickness without the aid of your theory. . . . . We have had but little opportunity of obtaining water * in our passage; because the wind has been both strong and fair, and I could not well delay for the purpose. Some of the bays which we passed on the African coast, presented us with water so white as to be very remarkably contrasted with the deep blue on either side of it: and the lines were drawn as strongly and suddenly as the marks of it would appear in a map. I should gladly have made experiments as to this being solely the effects of fresh water running into the sea. The mountains on both sides of the Mediterranean appeared more loaded with snow than I ever before saw them. Except from the Lizard to Cape Finisterre, we have never been out of sight of land. The sail into and out of the Tagus was beautiful: and as my party had not time to take a specimen of the stenches of Lisbon, they came away as they went, quite delighted. Read the 'Diary of an Invalid,' for a true description of Lisbon. But Gibraltar is more worth seeing than any other place whatever, and I should have liked extremely to have had you there with us. Sir George Don has improved the beauty of the Rock greatly, by planting shrubs, making public walks, &c., and has made the old town, which was filthy, quite neat and wholesome: it is his hobby, and very well he rides it. As a specimen of his hospitality, nothing would serve him but having the whole of us in his house during our five days' stay, and we had great difficulty in getting away. I was obliged to undergo much more

* Referring to a request of Dr. Wollaston for samples of salt water taken from various depths at the Straits of Gibraltar, to test the density.

ceremony than I liked, but the ladies enjoyed it: besides the garrison saluting the flag upon first seeing it, and the 'Asia' returning it, we had then to return the salutes of the ships of war at anchor in the bay. I was obliged to land the next morning with my flag flying in the boat, and was received with an extra guard of honour when I landed, and a salute of seventeen guns: the same on re-embarking. And upon our weighing anchor, I saluted the Governor with nineteen guns, which was returned with the same number. This is rather a consequential way of saying how d'ye do and good-bye: but is very agreeable to spectators, and you would have enjoyed the novelty of it as well as the rest. The inhospitable coast of Africa carries its character upon its face all the way up: bleak, bare, and barren of all but shrubby underwood, and nothing like a tree to be seen. Algiers, indeed, to which place we hauled in one fine morning by way of getting a good view of it, is very extraordinary looking. The country houses, if we may so term the residences of the different Consuls of the town, are very pretty, in spite of the extreme whiteness which all the buildings have, without exception. The contrast of that place and this, equally remarkable for the strength of their sea defences, is very great. The beauty of this place consists in the snugness of its harbour, or rather harbours, and the perfection of its fortifications; but the vast number of people on the lines looking *down into* the ship as she shot into her anchorage against the wind by her own momentum, and the hundred little boats which surrounded us in the hope that we were not to be in quarantine, gave us the impression of entering an English port. And this said port of Malta, with the town and fortifications, is a lion not much less worth visiting than Gibraltar. We are not, however, to be permitted to see more of it until the 27th, in consequence of having been at Gibraltar.

Your sincere friend,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From Dr. Wollaston to Sir E. C.

Monday, February 26, 1827.

MY DEAR FRIEND,— . . . . You had hardly sailed before I wished for five words on a point which I do not remember to have specially discussed. I mean with regard to catching up *dense* water *without* the Straits. I was the more particularly desirous of the said five words from observing in a chart of the Straits, given me by Captain Smith, that in longitude about 5° 45′ W. there seems to be no greater depth

of water than about 170 fathoms; so that if there be a current of the dense water outward, it ought to be caught with facility. But as you must have that chart, I cannot but think you must have made the same observation, and may long ere this have fished for the under-current, and caught, and bottled, and corked him safe. But even then there will occur questions—at what least depth could it be found in longitude 5° 30′, 5° 20′, and 5° 10′, where the total depth is so much greater, in order to account for the exit?

Yours verily,

W. H. WOLLASTON.

From Sir E. C. to Doctor Wollaston.

Malta: March 16, 1827.

You will not be very contented, I fear, with five bottles of water, unless, indeed, you were to drink it, and then you would think it more than enough. We have, however, only hitherto been to Naples and Leghorn from hence, which is not a line in the direction you wish. I am now going to the eastward, and hope to satisfy you as well as others by my movements in that direction. It is difficult to ascertain facts by letters from the scene of action, but I fear there has been really a loss of 1,500 of General Church's army in an endeavour to relieve the 'Acropolis.' Lord Cochrane was there and was nearly taken; and he wrote to our officers that the besieged were to be left to their fate by the panic-stricken army the night of the 7th May. General Church writes in better heart, that he hopes yet to be able to repair his disaster; and in answer to a capitulation proposed by a Frenchman and acceded to by the Turks, Fabvier replied, that if they wanted him to lay down his arms they must come and take them by force, for he had no intention of giving them up otherwise. We have reports of his being able to hold out at least two months. The Turks will make their utmost efforts this year, and appearances are in their favour. Ibrahim has taken the Castle of Tornese, near Missolunghi, and has liberated all the prisoners (1,200), including women, &c., who had there taken refuge. He let the officers take their *arms* even. I presume policy, not humanity, prompted this measure. It is the more remarkable, after the very treacherous destruction shortly before, of a number of Turkish prisoners who had capitulated, in spite of the exertions of General Church and his officers, many of whom lost their lives in trying to protect them. Church and Cochrane both expressed their disgust at this conduct. The Turks take violent offence at us for suffering Lord Cochrane to act against them, although

they owe all their successes to French and other officers in their service; and as I doubt the sincerity of the other powers, I see no prospect of any arrangements taking place by negotiation.

And so the poor Tunnel has had a serious disaster since Brunel and Martin gave me so satisfactory an account of it. I rely upon the shield, however, getting it to rights again, after the ground is made good; and I hope the ground on forward will have been examined by means of the diving-bell to prevent a similar interruption.

March 17.

I sat up late last night until my pen itself was almost asleep, to deal out to you this bit of chat, and if you do not let me know something about the Tunnel, &c., I will not forgive you. Relying, however, in the meantime, upon your being an honest man, I shall still hold myself your sincere friend,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From Sir E. C. to Doctor Wollaston.

Malta: April 1, 1827.

I have seen a strong practical proof of the failure of Davy's protectors, which makes it appear to me extraordinary that their success should have been so long considered as doubtful; for I do not understand that there was from the first any one of our ships on which they were supposed to have produced the desired effect of keeping the copper clean. 'Your Barnacle' is a very persevering fellow, and not easily to be shaken off: but there is one mode of getting rid of him and his companions when they think they are riding quite secure at 'chain moorings,' which, possibly, you may not be aware of, and which also, possibly, you may turn to account. At Marseilles there is a large soap manufactory, the washings from which run into the port, and coppered vessels which anchor near to where that stream enters, find it removes all the animals and vegetables which adhere to their bottoms. Now, I cannot help thinking some mode might be adopted of putting our ships occasionally into a basin of soap washings; but I make this over for your consideration. . . . . The present temperature of this place is now from 60° to 65°, and has been nearly the same during the last month. Oranges are from 2*d.* to 4*d.* a dozen, according to size, thick-skinned, and not at all equal to those of Tetuan or *of Mr. Gunter.* They appear to me to be gathered too early, for I have not met any as ripe and as sweet as I like them. There is a great curiosity here, making a summer passage to England—

a giraffe or cameleopard; an animal, I am told, never seen alive in England. The sending it to England to die seems to me like sending Parry to the North Pole with orders to remain there; which I trust, however, he will not have appended to his instructions. Now, having enumerated the *agrémens* of Malta, I must add that we have a prison full of pirates, which we shall have difficulty in proving guilty; and a quarantine, which deprives the navy of relaxation after a tour of service as harassing as regular warfare. We find it easier to get confession of piratical acts than proof by law, for want of claimants of the property plundered, in the character of prosecutors and witnesses, whose detention previous to trial overbalances the benefit arising from a successful issue. Although I may not be able to effect more condemnations on trial, I hope to be able to diminish the numbers sent here for ineffectual adjudication; though I have reason to believe that piracy is rapidly increasing in all parts of the Levant. I took up my pen to tell you about copper. I have let it run on in such a way as I trust yours will imitate; for I am not weaned by distance, either from dear old England, or those intellectual minds and subjects which lift her up in the scale of nations. Tell Brunel that many a kind thought of him and the great undertaking* in which he is occupied comes across me almost intrusively when I have other things to occupy me. My family have, like myself, been very well since our arrival here. You may tell Brunel that his name is now and then pronounced by 'all hands' of them with warm regard, and you may, perhaps, with some propriety, believe the same of your own.

April 2.

Yesterday I received despatches from Mr. Warburton, the Consul at Tripoli, dated the 28th March, to tell me that the Bey had that day declared war against Tuscany, but had permitted the unmolested departure of vessels under the Tuscan flag. This is, I presume, the Bey's way of saying, 'Pay me my tribute.' Mr. W. adds, that he hears (from some man with a long name) that Clapperton was at Kano about the 16th of January last, in good health; and he had heard nothing more of Major Laing since the *report* he sent me some time ago of Clapperton and Laing having met at Timbuctoo.

Yours, with sincere regard,

EDW. CODRINGTON.

* The tunnel under the Thames.

From Sir E. C. to Doctor Wollaston.

Malta: April 22, 1827.

There is no way of answering the number of things, on my part, which I wish you to know, but writing them down as they occur. I find a number of my *good intentions* in this and other things become of no effect. Jeremy Taylor observes that hell is paved with good intentions. However, Mr. Locker, who has long been resident in these parts, told me this morning that the scirocco at this place is almost always a very damp wind, whilst at Palermo it is perfectly dry; that *here*, notwithstanding the moisture, furniture is cracked by it to a great extent; but that at Palermo the oppression is such that the inhabitants shut their doors and windows and do not move more than they can help until it is over; and that he has frequently known the wine-glasses on his sideboard to break in the stems during its prevalence, untouched by anybody. He says he was mentioning this one day at a dinner, where the auditors seem to doubt him, when an officer of the Tenth Regiment of Foot, who happened to be present at the other end of the table, and whom he did not know, said, that during the time his regiment was in Sicily they lost one-third of their glasses in the same way. Now, as you cannot conveniently, on this occasion, ask me, 'Is it so?' I thought it as well to throw this officer in to aid my account. They say here that paint laid on in a scirocco never dries, and that it must be rubbed off again. It (the scirocco) passes over the land at Palermo, and over the sea at Malta, and though the effects may seem to balance each other, I take the moisture of the latter instance as a strong evidence against the theory of the dry winds of the desert causing indraught in the Straits of Gibraltar. The packet is here from Corfu in her way homeward, and therefore I must finish this, although even the pens and ink seem tired, as well as myself, with the multiplicity of calls upon them. Going to sea will be to me what going into the country is to you, in regard of leisure. Captain Copeland of the 'Mastiff,' who was long searching for the reported Thisbe Rock in the Straits of Gibraltar, leans towards my view of the current there. But I am not yet ripe to go deeper into the subject. I had not opportunity of examining the water without the Straits, and, moreover, some of what we did get has been lost by the bottles being broken, which annoys me. I have put one of the Marcet bottles and an hydrometer into the hands of Captain Copeland, who will have better opportunities of trying the water in the Archipelago, which he (forsooth,

single-handed) is directed to survey. Surely they might send one more vessel, since the country, being already ruined, can't be worse! My mind is now bent constantly to the state of piracy, and the great irritation produced by Lord Cochrane's presence in the Levant. It subjects us to individual insult from an idea of our sanctioning his assistance of the Greeks, because we did not chop off his head when we could have caught him in London; and all these things occasion a very irksome epistolary discussion. The Malta sporting world are profiting by the arrival of quails in large numbers, which make a baiting place at this island in their migratory progress. They are preceded by hawks and doves; and it seems many odd birds come here at this season; amongst others I have seen the bee-bird, coloured like a parrot. I have been too much occupied with my quill, and with preparing the vessels here for an active campaign, to use my gun hitherto. I trust the hourly-expected packet will bring me an account of the Tunnel, both from you and from Brunel; but we may not learn more of the Government arrangements by her than we now know by *Galignani's Messenger*, which tells us nothing is settled.

Yours, with sincere regard,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

In May, 1827, Sir Edward Codrington took his family to Leghorn in the 'Asia' in order to leave them in Italy, while he himself was preparing to go to the Levant and initiate measures for the suppression of piracy, which had been increasing among the Greeks to a most serious extent.

From Sir E. C. to Doctor Wollaston.

'Asia': Monday, May 7, 1827.

I know not if others are affected in the same way, but there are occasions when I long for not only all those whom I regard, but all those also on whom beautiful scenes make a strong impression, to share in my enjoyment. We passed through the Faro passage yesterday, with a strong fair wind, and that gloomy cast of atmosphere which, in my opinion, gives a higher character to the grander scenes of nature than the light air and sunshine in which we are now gradually approaching Naples. Going at the commanding rate of ten miles an hour, we steered right through Charybdis, and closed the entrance of Messina, so as to see all its buildings, and all the surrounding country, its deep ravines, its precipitous hills, with villages suspended on them like birds' nests, and the bold towering mountains which closed the

whole and elevated it from beautiful to sublime. Etna still formed part of the picture, seeming from its size to overhang the sea; and the opposite side of the channel, Calabria, rivalling Sicily in magnificence of scenery. You may judge of the delight of my cabin party, as well, indeed, as of all eyes who shared with theirs, and you will not be surprised that I wished for your presence on this occasion. There was swell enough in the early part of the morning to have put your theory to trial; but when we got the wind in its strength, the ship was as steady as if at anchor; and there was nothing to diminish the general enjoyment of the circumstance. The fiery breeze which had thus far favoured us, left us as suddenly just as we were closing the lighthouse point, and we barely escaped, by a little good management, being carried by the eddy towards Scylla. No sooner had we got fairly through than there came on a sudden squall, which reduced us from royals to double-reefed topsails, and led to a consideration about bringing to, in order not to lose seeing Stromboli after dark. Here again our good fortune aided us by diminishing the wind so as to bring us exactly, as darkness came on, to the very spot from which the crater, which is on one side of the mountain, is best seen. Here we were nearly becalmed till ten o'clock; during which time the volcano emitted jets of flame and sparks, followed by explosions, which those who have often seen the island, had never before either witnessed or heard of; for the quantity of ignited matter thrown up several times formed a continuous stream of red hot particles down to the sea. It gave me the idea of a real eruption of lava, although it was formed of a succession of particles instead of a regular stream. From these separate luminous bodies first appearing, sometimes considerably below the crater, I imagined them to be stones thrown up with the smoke, and thus rendered undiscernible until their descent to the side of the mountain. This I leave to your philosophership. But I know that the sight itself, whatever be its origin, was a very beautiful one, and that we were again very highly favoured by seeing it in such unusual splendour.

Naples: May 13.

We are still without any positive knowledge of the full composition of the new Ministry,* and I stay for to-morrow's post for the chance of an official communication from my new Royal Master through Mr. Hill. From hence I go to Leghorn to deposit my family.

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

* Of which Mr. Canning was Prime Minister. April 1827.

From Sir E. C. to Lady C.

Malta: June 7, 1827.

We got into this *mill-pond* this morning after being in a N.W. gale since yesterday afternoon: from 4 P.M. till 11 A.M. this morning, reckoning from land to land, we *averaged* 11 knots an hour (in H.M.S. 'Asia'). The gale had an effect on my cook and the master of the band which may cause me some annoyance: the first with prayers for HIS *safety*, mingled vows that he would not go to sea again, but I live in hopes of Comelate laughing him out of his fears. The musician was coming aft to ask the captain to take in all sail, and throw all the guns overboard, and shut down the windows, but was reconciled by Comelate bringing him up on the poop where he saw us merrily enjoying the liveliness of our movements.

June 19.

Our coming out of Malta to-day at five o'clock must have been a beautiful sight to the immense number of spectators. We started with all plain sail, including royals, and when abreast of the Custom-house, saluted with 15 guns, which the Fort returned with 17, the *military* number for my rank; and we then came out with a breeze which obliged us to take in our royals, hove-to to get our boats up, and then, upon making sail again, came along nine miles an hour. During my stay I dined every day but two with the Ponsonbys,* at St. Antonio, for which purpose they would not dispense with my having one of their calêches. I must add, that the more I saw of them the better I liked them, even to the end of the chapter. So even-tempered a person as he is I never saw; and I have no doubt but to that temper he owes his life after being *killed* at Waterloo.' His excellent qualities are not thrown away upon her. You alone can tell how I miss Harry. I miss even the not finding his things scattered about the cabin, and the consequent pleasure of scolding him. He is a dear fellow, and dearly do I love him; and it is no small pleasure to me in this command, that I am thus enabled to make his midshipman life agreeable and useful at the same time.

Extract of a Letter from Sir E. C. to Lady Spencer in answer to one received from her.

Malta: June 10, 1827.

. . . . . Although not yet quite master of the subject, if I had more leisure I might, perhaps, be able

* General Sir Frederick Ponsonby, Governor of Malta, and Lady E. Ponsonby.

to give you some account of what is doing here worth your notice, all disgusting as the subject is made by the scenes of vice and horror which attend the emergence of a people so debased as the Greeks, from the lowest state of slavery. It appears to me that the Turks are neither to be trusted nor believed; that the Greeks prefer stealing and lying to telling the truth and acting honestly; and that of the Greeks, the Ionians, being less in awe of despotic sway, are the worst of all. Lord Cochrane was with General Church when he attempted to relieve Colonel Fabvier at Athens. The Suliotes and Samiotes stood firm and were almost annihilated; but Fabvier answered the subsequent summons of the Turks by defying them to come and take those swords they required him to lay down. I hear he can still hold out two months or more. Lord Cochrane was obliged to run into the water to escape. He finds difficulty in getting the Greeks to serve with him, for want of pay which is the main spring of their patriotism, and he has with him only the American frigate and a steamer. With these he appears to have made an attack on two Turkish frigates under Cape Papa, but with what success I have not heard.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE detailed account of Captain Codrington's services down to 1813 will have enabled naval readers to judge how far professional knowledge and practical seamanship were combined with the energy and devoted zeal which must be patent to general readers. The events of 1827, and his position at the head of the combined fleets of three nations, will now enable them to estimate whether the superior qualities required in a Commander-in-Chief were not superadded to those of a subordinate officer, and exercised to their full extent under circumstances of heavy responsibility.

The plan adopted in the arrangement of the following correspondence has been, as far as possible, to place the letters of Sir E. Codrington himself in their regular succession, letting them be followed by the answers received; and to place communications addressed to him (when not *answers*) at about the date at which they reached him—the object being, to carry on the sequence of *his* daily life as affected by the communications he received and the duties he had to carry out.

It has, however, sometimes been found desirable to deviate from this arrangement, in order to make a subject clearer by its immediate completion, or by the answers called forth by questions relating to it. This will in many cases give the appearance of irregularity in the succession of dates, which will be removed if the general plan is borne in mind.

Much difficulty is added to the arrangement of the letters (as very great difficulty was also added to the service to be done and the measures to be combined and carried out) by the long interval between the despatch and receipt of instructions and letters and of the

necessary answers, both from England and the various parts of the Mediterranean; a delay increased by imperfect postal arrangements, which, with the single exception of a steamboat between Corfu and Zante, were at that period still dependent upon sailing vessels.

In the selection of papers relating to the complicated diplomatic and professional situation occupied by my Father in the anxious period of 1827-8, I have had the assistance of my brother, Sir William Codrington; who has given me the following general summary of the events connected with the Treaty of July, and the part borne in its execution by my Father.—J. B.

Memorandum.

Before giving the detailed correspondence connected with the Treaty of July 1827 for the pacification of Greece, in which Sir Edward Codrington bore an active part, it may be stated that the Greek Revolution began in 1820-1, and was as justifiable a rebellion as any recorded in history, if tyranny is ever to give place to freedom. For several years the Greeks gained advantages by sea and by land: the islands of Hydra, Spezzia, and others had formed a small navy; Athens, Navarin, the Acropolis of Corinth, Napoli, Missolunghi, and Tripolitza were in their possession: but in the spring of 1826-7, Ibrahim Pacha having brought a large force from Egypt, occupied Missolunghi and all the Morea except Napoli, Athens was besieged; and the fortunes of Greece were at a low ebb. The Emperor of Russia had long urged the necessity of interference for the pacification of Greece and the Levant; and when Mr. Canning felt assured that Russia would act alone rather than not at all, the Duke of Wellington was sent on a mission to Petersburg, and signed the Protocol of April 1826—the foundation of interference in favour of Greece on the part of England and Russia, and of the subsequent Treaty of July 6, in which Mr. Canning secured the participation of France. In the Protocol of April 1826 no mention is made of the employment of actual

force; but in the Treaty of July a secret article was inserted to transmit to the Admirals the eventual instructions of the three Powers, 'to exert all the means 'which circumstances may suggest to their prudence 'to obtain the immediate effect of the Armistice which 'they desire, by preventing, as far as may be in their 'power, all collision between the contending parties.' Sir Edward Codrington was ordered to receive instructions from the English Ambassador at Constantinople,* Mr. Stratford Canning.

The difficulty of the Admiral's position will be apparent: the peculiar Government of the Porte—the dissensions and piracies of the Greeks—the armistice to be enforced, but force to be avoided—the separate interests of the different Powers in the Mediterranean, and the imminent danger that by delay there might remain no Greece to be saved—all these were discordant elements in proceedings to be taken under such a treaty of interference as that of July 1827. To complete this outline, it may be mentioned that the Treaty itself had been made by Canning, whose liberal policy in Foreign Affairs had created enthusiasm, and who became Prime Minister in 1827; his friend Lord Dudley, whose name is appended to the Treaty, being Minister for Foreign Affairs. When Canning adopted the bold policy by which Russia was held in hand by other Great Powers accompanying her rather than allowing her to proceed alone, safety lay in promptness which should conquer resistance; and it was well felt by a distinguished diplomatist that nothing but the most decided measures would carry the Allies safely through the strait on which they were embarked, and that keeping pace with Russia was the best means of preventing her going beyond the object of the Treaty. Let it be remarked that in 1827 there was no steam in men-of-war—no steam despatch boat attached to a fleet: wind, with seamanship in the management of masts and sails, was the only means of movement. The great expedition of Turkish and Egyptian ships with

* Now Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

the troops intended to complete the subjugation of Greece, had sailed from Alexandria before the Admirals had power given them to act. Sir Edward Codrington had placed his squadron before Hydra for its protection whilst he awaited this order from Mr. S. Canning. He received it on September 7, and proceeded at once to cut off the Egyptian expedition from the coast, but instead of attacking Hydra it went direct to Navarin, having anchored there on September 9. Sir E. Codrington sailed at once for Navarin, and was there joined by Admiral De Rigny and the French squadron. An armistice by sea and land was agreed to on September 25 by Ibrahim Pacha, till he should hear from Constantinople and Egypt; but in the absence of the Allied squadrons he broke his word, and with a fleet of forty-nine sail (ten of which were large frigates) attempted on the 2nd and 4th October to relieve the Turkish forts and destroy some Greek men-of-war in the Gulf of Patras. He was met in opposition by Sir Edward Codrington, with only the 'Asia' 84, two small frigates and a brig, and forced, not without some hostile proceeding, back to Navarin. The 'Asia's' broadside, ready for action, was not to be passed with impunity: some of his ships persisting a second time, were fired into, and the first act of real hostility was thus committed under a bold naval and political responsibility assumed by Sir E. Codrington with his small squadron. But, though hostility had taken place, there had been no battle; and this may have led the successors of Mr. Canning to hope that the Treaty might yet succeed without the effects of war.

The Russian squadron having arrived, and the French squadron having joined the English off Navarin, it was thought that Ibrahim having yielded to the small English force employed against him off Patras, would yield to the three squadrons combined. But though foiled by sea, Ibrahim had power by land, and commenced those barbarities of burning and pillaging on shore which it was the object of the Treaty to prevent. The Admirals sent in a warning letter to him—no one

would receive it. Consequently the Allied squadrons entered the Bay to place themselves alongside his fleet, and in front of his camp, in the expectation that in presence of the whole Allied force combined, he would consent to a permanent armistice, and to the return of the expedition to Alexandria. His fleet had for three days been placed and prepared for action: he fired upon the Allies—and his fleet was destroyed.

The English Ministers were frightened, and sent 'Queries' to the Admiral, instead of reinforcements to his fleet. Lord Goderich had not strength to face Parliament—the Government resigned early in January 1828—and the Treaty, half executed, was left to the mercies of its political enemies.

Canning had died on August 8, 1827, with his Treaty signed, but its execution scarcely commenced; his administration was succeeded by one of little power and weak nerve, which thus succumbed in less than four months, 'scared by the sound itself had made.'

The political door was thus open to the Duke of Wellington, hostile to the government of Mr. Canning and to his Treaty, which he termed 'one of their Portuguese and Greek follies.' But he retained in office some friends of Canning, viz., Lord Dudley and Mr. Huskisson, soon to be thrown aside as broken tools, in May 1828, Lord Aberdeen succeeding to the Foreign Office. It may be remarked that at first the Admiralty and Lord Dudley, then Mr. S. Canning at Constantinople, then Lord Dudley direct, as Secretary of State, then Mr. Huskisson, as Secretary of State, each in succession gave or withheld instructions to Sir E. Codrington, according to the political complications of a home or foreign policy. What a picture is presented on this point by the Fourth Volume of the Duke of Wellington's Memoranda and Despatches! Whilst Sir E. Codrington, not having received official information or instructions framed either in England or Constantinople subsequent to the Battle of Navarin, was in anxious expectation of them; one Minister (Mr. Huskisson) writes, April 6 1828, 'The instructions prepared two

'or three weeks ago, which had been settled for Cod-
'rington, were hung up by the last note from Lieven.'
And Mr. Huskisson proposes even to the Duke of Wellington, to 'date at least a fortnight back,' and in order 'to stand well with Parliament,' a despatch on the subject of Greek slaves; which subject was made one of the grounds for recalling Sir E. C. from his command. Another Minister (Lord Bathurst, May 6 1828, to the Duke of Wellington) writes, 'It is this
'which has prevented our giving any instructions to
'Sir Edward Codrington since the formation of your
'Government, unless that can be called one which
'directed him to suspend acting with the Russian
'Admiral till he should hear from us again.'

Another Secretary of State writes to the Duke of Wellington, August 19, 1828, 'There are also some
'papers from Codrington which have been at the Ad-
'miralty these ten days, but which we only received
'yesterday;* they possess others at the Admiralty of
'which we have sent for copies, for up to this moment
'I have never seen any account of the conference of
'Ibrahim Pacha with the Admirals.'† No wonder that hostility in many quarters and from various causes culminated at last in a memorandum dictated by the Duke of Wellington to his Cabinet, May 3, 1828, headed, 'The time has come for the Cabinet to de-
'liberate whether Sir Edward Codrington shall or shall
'not be recalled,' and that he was recalled accordingly. The Duke of Wellington, however, knew neither the cause nor real meaning of the Instructions of October 16; he was not aware that a practical question from Sir E. Codrington himself to Mr. S. Canning had originated them at Constantinople, and that the protocol of October 15, 1827, was held for the confirmation from England of Sir E. C.'s own suggestions. These

* The papers despatched from Sir E. C., dated 8th July, and 11th July, and 19th July, containing conference with Ibrahim at Modon; accounts of Greek slaves; and Captain Froude's accounts.

† Held 6th July, when Ibrahim Pacha agreed to evacuate the Morea when ships should be sent by Mehemet Ali. Acknowledged by Admiralty 9th August, 1828.

Instructions were misinterpreted to, and therefore by, the Duke of Wellington, whose expressed understanding of them would even have prevented the evacuation of the Morea; his sense of justice would have recoiled from making a known error the ground of recalling an officer from his command. He had quoted for censure, and as a reason for this recall, a letter from Captain Parker of March 3, 1828, detailing supposed facts; by a subsequent letter from Captain Parker of March 17 1828, these supposed facts were known to the Admiralty not to be facts—but although acknowledged by the Admiralty on May 7, 1828 (long before the recall despatch, which was dated May 19 and June 4), the correction was apparently not made known to the Duke of Wellington or to his Cabinet.

Whatever may have caused this omission, even a great name cannot sanctify injustice; and never was committed greater injustice than the supersession upon such grounds, of a naval Commander-in-Chief actively engaged in a difficult and complicated duty. Notwithstanding this hostility of Departments and of the Cabinet itself, that duty was brought to a successful close by Sir Edward Codrington, on August 6, 1828, personally negotiating in Egypt with Mehemet Ali, and then bringing up to his successor for execution, the Convention of Alexandria for the evacuation of the Morea, by which one great object of the Treaty of July was secured.

When England, France, and Russia, with different interests, were united in the Treaty of July, co-operation was safety—isolation was danger. Divergence, which involved greater danger still, was shown on the part of England when the King's speech termed the Battle of Navarin an 'untoward event.'

It sounded the note of withdrawal; it gave distrust to Russia, umbrage to France, and a courage of opposition to Turkey, producing in her that hostile defiance to Russia by which she hoped the alliance might be broke.

England held so much aloof as to justify this expecta-

tion on the part of Turkey. Russia was aggravated to a separate war; she dictated by her army at Adrianople the terms of a separate peace, and there forced on Turkey acquiescence in that Treaty of July which had hitherto been contemptuously refused to the Allies.

Greece had been saved from pillage, and perhaps from political extermination, by the resolution of placing the Allied squadrons in Navarin in face of Ibrahim's forces, in order to awe him into submission, and prevent the destruction of that country which it was the object of the Treaty to save. The Convention of Alexandria for evacuating the Morea put the seal upon its independence; and this final success was the result of responsibility accepted, of days and nights of anxiety and exertion, and of a devotion to duty which had its reward for Sir Edward Codrington, in the conviction that, conquering many political and naval difficulties, he had maintained unblemished the credit of his country during his whole command.—W. J. C.

Early in May 1827, Mr. S. Canning wrote to Sir E. Codrington that the arrival of Lord Cochrane and other English subjects employed in the Greek service has exasperated the Turkish Government; that he trusts that his representations will keep them within reasonable bounds; that the Turks will no doubt make the strongest efforts against Greece during the present campaign; and that they have sent to the Dardanelles twenty-eight sail of men-of-war, besides the ships at Navarin, at Candia, and those of the Viceroy of Egypt; and that his endeavours to bring about an accommodation between the two parties at war have hitherto failed of success. He suggests that Sir E. Codrington should come to the Archipelago, and says that he looks to Captain Hamilton,* and to his knowledge of Greece, as valuable assistance in carrying into execution the

* Captain W. G. Hamilton (long in command of H.M.S. 'Cambrian' in Greek waters), his name and that of his ship being associated with the early history of Greek independence, as well as with the execution of the July Treaty. The ship was subsequently lost on the Reef of Carabusa in the attack upon the Greek Pirates in 1828.

ulterior instructions which he may receive from Government in the course of a few days.

On June 1, 1827, Mr. Stratford Canning, the English Ambassador at Constantinople, wrote to Sir E. Codrington respecting the report of the cruelties of Ibrahim Pacha in his march along the western coast of the Morea; the irritation caused in Turkey by Lord Cochrane and others in the Greek service; and stated that although neutrality was to be observed as much as possible, yet that wherever the presence of English ships could mitigate the horrors of a barbarous warfare, H. M. Government could scarcely wish them to be kept at a distance, particularly if other Powers did not act under such restraint. Referring to the combination of the duties of neutrality with offices of humanity, he instances Captain Hamilton, whose conduct in the Archipelago during several years of trying exertion, had constrained respect and esteem from all.

From Captain H. Byam Martin, H.M.S. 'Parthian,' to Sir E. C.

Napoli di Romania: July 7, 1827.

Sir,—In pursuance of your orders, I have endeavoured to collect information at Poros respecting the state of affairs in that part of Greece.

In the words of Mr. Tricoupi, 'the moral, political, and military state of the country is sinking to the lowest possible degree, and without the interposition of some foreign Power Greece cannot hope to be free.'*

Lord Cochrane remains at Poros, and expressed to me his intention of making another attempt to burn the Egyptian fleet at Alexandria; but as the crew of the 'Hellas,' with the exception of about 100 men, have left her, she cannot at present put to sea.

I have the honour to transmit for your information a copy of a paper in circulation at Poros, which is said to be an extract from the definitive note of the Porte, in answer to the foreign ambassadors at Constantinople, respecting the affairs of Greece.

Extrait de la Note adressée par la Porte aux Puissances étrangères.

Le 16 juin 1827.

J'ai conquis la Grèce avec les armes, je la possède depuis quatre siècles.

J'ai traité les Grecs avec humanité, j'ai vu en eux des sujets, et non pas des esclaves.

C'est pendant qu'ils jouissoient tranquillement de leurs biens, et des premières dignités de l'état, ainsi que des fruits de leurs travaux et des avantages du commerce, qu'ils travailloient à la destruction de mon empire; et, imprévoyants et fous, ils préparoient un coup terrible.

Dieu les punit!—puis, accorderai-je à ces rebelles la liberté que vous me proposez? en sont-ils dignes? leurs actions parlent clairement devant tout le monde, juge de leur mauvaise conduite et de ma clémence. Je saurai les punir sans mêler l'innocent avec le coupable. Cette rébellion misérable auroit déjà été éteinte si les secours de ceux qui se montroient mes amis ne l'eussent pas soutenue.

Je suis assis sur un trône aussi puissant que celui des premiers souverains de l'Europe; mais me suis-je jamais mêlé des révolutions étrangères? Mon exemple devoit guider les autres.

Dieu protège la justice de ma cause, et tout sera bientôt terminé sans aucun secours; j'exige cependant qu'il ne seroit, directement ou indirectement, donné aux autres.

Mes justes principes sont infaillibles—mon système est inaltérable—personne dans le monde ne peut me détourner de mon but, et je ne prêterai l'oreille à aucune proposition qui soit contraire à mes intentions de soutenir l'inviolabilité de ma souveraineté, et de punir les rebelles de la même manière dont les autres souverains usent chez eux, dans de pareilles circonstances.

From Sir E. C. to H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence.

Malta: June 9, 1827.

Sir,—Upon my arrival here two days ago, I had the honour of receiving the official notification of your R.H. having taken your seat as Lord High Admiral. . . . The service in the Levant is becoming more and more arduous every day; and I shall shortly have occasion to give your R.H. some details of the horrors which accompany the piracies on those seas, which will show the necessity of arming those in authority with some stronger power than they are in pos-

session of. The mild forbearance of the English law is not applicable to the circumstances of the war carrying on here; and I contemplate being called upon to act with a rigour which nothing but a strong sense of the absolute necessity of it would induce me to adopt. As I intend proceeding to that part of my station so soon as those despatches reach me which are now, I hear, on their way from Mr. Stratford Canning, I need not enter more at large into the subject at present. I need only say, that of the several vessels sent here with their crews for adjudication, although those crews have acknowledged the acts of which they are accused none have been or are likely to be found guilty, owing to the facilities of escape afforded by the provisions with which the laws of piracy are clogged. In the meantime officers and men, and indeed ships also, have been detained in this port, when the very evil we are trying to destroy has been increasing in consequence of their absence.

With grateful respect, your R.H.'s faithful and obliged,

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

From H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence to Sir E. C.

Pembroke: July 24, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—On my arrival here from Plymouth I find yours of 9th June, from Malta, and must approve of the sentiments contained in your letter on the *extraordinary* and *heterogeneous* service on which you are now particularly employed. You were *not then* aware of the two ships of the line ordered up to join you, nor of the treaty entered into by Great Britain, France, and Russia respecting the Turks and Greeks. Your position is neither agreeable nor easy to fulfil. Indeed, the situation of Greece at the very moment of signing this treaty at London may be past redemption. But prudence will, I am sure, guide your actions. I believe Stratford Canning an able man. But both you and he have to deal with. . . . . But you must be on your guard, and the contending interests of these various Powers may give you useful information.

I shall be anxious to learn the events as they arise where you will now be employed. It is impossible to form any conjecture as to the result of affairs so strangely situated. Prudence and moderation will be your best guides, and we must hope for the best.

God bless you, and ever believe me

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM.

From Sir E. C. to Mr. S. Canning.

H.M.S. 'Asia,' at Malta: June 16, 1827.

SIR,—I have had the honour of receiving, last night, your letters of the 2nd, 3rd, and 11th of May, by courier from Corfu, by way of Florence and Naples. Some repairs of this ship, now in progress, will not be finished until Thursday morning the 19th, when I shall immediately put to sea.

Piracy, which is increasing in brutality, requires that I should pursue my intention of having a short communication with Sir F. Adam personally, in my way; but you may rely upon my complying with the wish expressed in your letter as speedily and as effectually as possible. If the measures which I have to propose to Sir F. Adam on the one part respecting the Ionians, and to the Greek Government on the other part, respecting the vessels guilty of piracy, can be carried into execution, I shall, I hope, be more fully able to act up to your proposals; for you may rest assured that I am fully impressed with the difficulties of your situation and anxious to use all the means in my power to diminish them. As to Lord Cochrane, as far as I have entered upon his subject with those under my command, I have instructed them to consider him as a Greek: and I am not aware of any law which can control his going as a passenger in an unarmed English vessel. I have not been unprepared for the ill-will towards us on account of his proceedings, from the Porte and all its different states; and it was my intention to have taken advantage of an insult offered to the 'Glasgow' at Alexandria, to place this matter in its right point of view to the Pacha of Egypt, through our consul, whenever I should be informed of the result of the complaints which have been made of it. Although we are now much nearer the crisis, I shall still catch at any opening I may find for explaining firmly to the Pacha the possible consequences to his own ships of insults being offered to those of his Majesty in Turkish ports, on account of this erroneous impression. For it is my conviction, that the best way, if not to dispel the error, at least to avert the consequences of it, is to place ourselves on high ground and to show our disposition to maintain it. I beg you to understand that, in thus setting forth my opinions and meditations, I have no wish to act upon them in defiance of your better judgment. On the contrary, I only divulge them on this occasion that you may be able to anticipate my proceedings when distance may prevent your ascertaining them; and to subject them to

your guidance, if they should not accord with the views of the British Government with which I am not made acquainted. As I have put the whole of the ships and vessels eastward of the Adriatic under Captain Hamilton's command, I doubt not he has already collected as strong a force as he was able in the neighbourhood of Smyrna.

I have the honour, &c.,

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

Sir E. C. to his eldest daughter, at Florence.

In sight of Mount Etna, this June 20, 1827, proceeding slowly towards Corfu.

It is all very well, young ladies, your filling up your spare time for writing by keeping journals, but unless I am to have extracts from these journals, or some other evidence of your being able to write, I shall not be satisfied. I am now, moreover, single-handed, having sent our dear Harry into the 'Philomel,' to learn to keep a lieutenant's watch. I think I see him mustering up courage to give his orders distinctly, and then rejoicing in the effect of his first efforts; and I hope the self-satisfaction which will arise out of it will also produce the good effect of making him hold up his head at least during his watch upon deck, in order to make up for the doubled-up form he must necessarily adopt when he is moving about below. The 'Philomel' is to be the companion of the 'Asia'; so that I shall see if her sails are well trimmed, and so forth. This is rather a better way for said Hal to begin than in the cutter.

Perhaps you think that as I have left you in charge of your mother, she alone is to give me an account of you. But remember I have also left *her* in charge of *you*, and from *you* therefore I expect an account of *her*. Nay, I also expect that you will take care of her by making her take care of herself. You believe, I doubt not, that you know her value. But I assure you, justly as you venerate her, you will never know her full value until time, in the course of nature, takes her away from you; which period I hope and trust will be prolonged, not only until you no longer require that fostering care, that devotion to your well-doing, which has made your lives thus far a scene of almost uninterrupted happiness; but even until you shall yourselves have had the gratification of returning to her, in her old age, that filial affection which I am sure it will be no less your pleasure to show than her delight to receive. As this is the light in

which it is most gratifying to me to contemplate you, I will here say, with the warm affection of a father, may God bless you in it.

Corfu: June 25.

This is indeed a beautiful island, and I hope one of these days to show it to you, when the heat is not so oppressive as it is liable to be at this time of the year. I should enjoy my visit to it much more if I were not obliged to undergo so much ceremony. Yesterday was the Fiesta of St. Onorio, and all the Corfu world went to that place, some ten miles off. The groups of merry people, on foot or on horseback, most horses having a man and woman on each, passing through so beautiful a country, have an extremely pleasant effect. I never saw such subjects for pictures. Every village has its different costume, and all were in high dress; and there were specimens of many others, Continental Greeks mixed with the rest.

You are to write when you have time, and your letter will catch me in due course.

Your ever affec. father,

E. C.

To Lady C.

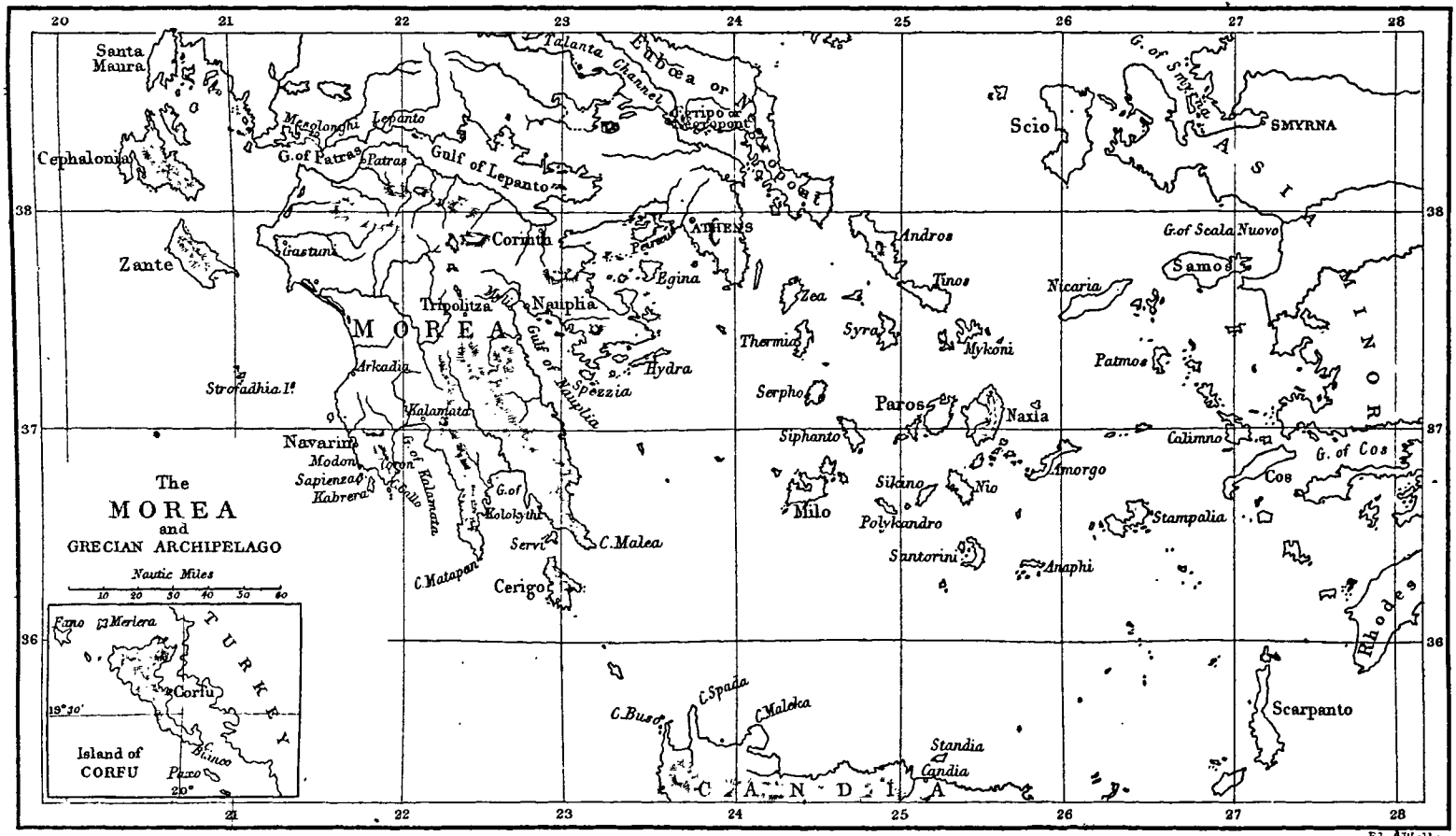
June 23.

It is very pretty sailing between Corfu and Albania, and I wish you were all here to enjoy it and thereby double my pleasure in it.

With such bold fine mountains as I see, I cannot but think their inhabitants ought not to be conquered. But, in fact, the Albanian soldiers are some of the best troops in the Turkish army; and disunion and dissension are greater enemies than the Porte itself. I cannot say I promise myself much pleasure from this visit, because I shall not have time to see enough to balance the disagreeable business of being landed in high form, as I find I am always to be on coming to Corfu.

June 25.

A ride with Adam on the 23rd, and another yesterday morning, from half-past four to half-past eight, gave me views which are hardly to be surpassed in any part of the world. There is one shortcoming, the want of *large* trees. Even the brother of Capo d'Istria cut down oaks to sell for a few dollars. Athens has fallen. The Turkish fleet is in this neighbourhood. Lord Cochrane is gone to collect what force he can, and try what he can do. I doubt if the Greeks can offer any effectual opposition now, and we shall see what other Powers do.



London: Longmans & Co.

Edw.d Weller.

Cephalonia: July 29.

Athens surrendered under an *arrangement* with the French of a suspicious sort, to which the Austrians were a party, but of which, I am glad to say, *we* know nothing. No bloodshed or massacre, as reported of course; and Church will probably speak out by and bye, when all circumstances reach him respecting intercourse with De Rigny and Fabvier and with the Turks. No wonder the French are in favour and the English quite out, at Constantinople. I am sorry to have to land here and go through these ceremonies, which, however much they may be deemed advantageous to the service, are very annoying to me.

From this time forward the work of Sir Edward Codrington became very intricate, as well as multifarious. He was brought into official relations with the representatives of six different nations. Of these, Turkey, Egypt, and Greece were in a state of avowed hostility, of which it was his especial business to avert the consequences. Austria was no party to the Treaty; she professed neutrality and claimed its rights—but with her men-of-war and merchant vessels in close and suspicious communication with the Ottoman fleets. The other two, France and Russia, bore to each other an ill-concealed mistrust, although they had agreed to carry out concerted action.

It was one difficult portion of his task—that in which his success was certainly as remarkable as it was gratifying—to establish and to keep up harmonious intercourse between the Admirals of these two nations, who were both placed under his command, and whose mutual jealousy and mistrust could only be kept subservient to the general service in which they were combined, by the exercise of great tact, and by the hearty cordiality towards himself with which he, as Commander-in-Chief, succeeded in inspiring both his colleagues.

It was a novel situation for an English Admiral to be placed in, and one that kept up a continual and heavy strain upon both mind and body, even before there was added to it a large amount of daily-increasing complications.

From Sir E. C. to Lady C., at Florence (extracts from successive letters).

'Asia,' off Milo: July 3, 1827.

Yesterday I deposited my friend Adam at Kapsali, a town (as we will call it) at the S. end of Cerigo. I rode with him from thence to St. Nicolo in the S.E. to settle which of these two little ports would be best worth the expense of such improvements as would attract vessels to the island. Kapsali is much the best, in port, in position, in number of inhabitants, and in every thing. Captain McPhail, Adam's resident representative, has effected wonders there with very small means. I wished much for you to see the place itself, but particularly to see the school of girls which he has established. Healthy, cheerful, pretty in person, and most picturesque in their different costume, it was altogether a very gratifying sight. For, as they were of all the various orders of Greeks, I could not help reflecting what might have been their fate, had they, instead of this admirable refuge—where, under the Lancasterian system, translated into their own language, they are making great proficiency in the useful parts of education—been left to the cruel fate of the majority of their countrywomen. I think I never saw a prettier group for a picture, so picturesque and so varied, and so neat withal, were their dresses; for it is not only each island, but every village has its peculiar costume.

The harbour of Cephalonia is a very fine one indeed, but the island itself is very barren generally, and there is little to interest one in it, except the roads and other improvements which Colonel Napier* has made with so much credit to himself. Zante is very beautiful from the anchorage, which is but an open roadstead; and I am told the view from the castle hill, which commands the sea and harbour on one side, and the rich plain on the other which produces the small raisins which we use for plum puddings, is magnificent.

10 P.M.

This is one of the finest harbours and most miserable places in all other respects, which I have ever seen. I believe it is by Hamilton's request that the Turks do not interfere with it, and it is the rendezvous of the convoys of all the different nations, a man-of-war of each, in turn, protecting the port for a month against the pirates. But there is no protection whatever for the regular inhabitants, and

* General Sir Charles Napier, conqueror of Scinde, &c.

they are consequently robbed with impunity, at times, by a greater number of Candiotes, who have taken refuge there, and are proverbially a bad description even of Greeks.

Milo: July 6th.

Instead of Lord Cochrane having burned forty of the Egyptian fleet in Aboukir Bay, it seems he burned one brig at the expense of two of his own fire vessels, and was driven away by the Turkish Admiral himself going out with a very superior force.

Yours,
E. C.

The piracies of Greek vessels were dangerous not only to general commerce, but to the existence of Greece, if the Greeks were ever to be recognised as a nation; and the suppression of piracy in the Levant was one object of the Treaty of July. Hence the following letter:—

From Sir E. C. to the persons exercising the functions of Government in Greece.

H.M.S. 'Asia,' at sea: 5th July, 1827.

GENTLEMEN,—I am informed by Captain Hamilton that you have empowered Lord Cochrane to authorise Greek armed vessels to act under his single signature. Although this regulation does not accord with your former decree, in consideration of the difficulties you are under I shall not oppose it until the pleasure of my Government be known thereon, unless the dangerous power thus given be made improper use of in the meantime. Upon the receipt of this power Lord Cochrane has declared the Gulfs of Patras and Corinth in a state of blockade: at the same time quitting those seas himself with such force as he had with him, without, as it appears, leaving a competent force to maintain it. As if in the contemplation of thus quitting his own proclaimed blockade, his lordship adds, that the momentary absence of the Greek blockading force shall not be deemed an interruption of such blockade. Now, gentlemen, in reply to this bold declaration of his lordship, I must give you to understand that even the temporary absence of the Greek blockading force, unless driven away by stress of weather or by an enemy, will be deemed not only an interruption but a relinquishment of such blockade. It is my duty to resist any blockade inconsistent with the rule so clearly defined in H. E. Sir Fredk. Adam's letter of the 16th October, 1824, acceded to by the answer of Mr. Secretary Rodius of the same date. And if

any of the Greek vessels under Lord Cochrane's command should act contrary to those regulations, and intercept the commerce of British or Ionian subjects, I shall direct reprisals to be made on such Greek vessels themselves, and put an end to the blockade altogether. I have termed the power thus given to Lord Cochrane DANGEROUS. By the accompanying documents you will see that I have now to claim immediate reparation for the property of Ionian subjects taken off by the boats of the 'Hellas,' and of a breach of neutrality by his lordship's entering Ionian waters, apparently for the purpose of carrying on this predatory warfare. Let all this be added to the catalogue I now place before you (in No. 15) of injuries and insults to which our rigid observance of neutrality has exposed us, and you will think as I do, Gentlemen, that our forbearance has reached its utmost limits. I now look to you yourselves to punish such offenders, and to prevent the necessity of my adopting a much more summary proceeding; and I therefore submit to your decision a bombard detained for being armed, and for cruising without any authority whatever, and for having plundered a Greek boat, as specified in a letter from Lord Viscount Ingestrie, commander of H. M. brig the 'Philomel,' of which I send you a copy.

I am, &c.,

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

It was essential to discover if there existed in Greece any central government or assembly having real authority; Sir E. C. went therefore to Napoli di Romania, where quarrellings, bickerings, and fighting were going on between rival parties in Greece.

From Sir E. C. to H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence.

Napoli di Romania: July 8, 1817.

SIR,— . . . . . .

The removal of the Provisional Government from Poros to this place was a part of a plan of Colocotroni to obtain absolute authority. But in his attempt to gain possession of the fortress which commands the town, by means of his son and some 500 men, he failed. The family who hold it in possession shut the drawbridge and obliged them by capitulation to keep away from this part of the country. If the intrigue of such a man as Colocotroni can effect the removal of the seat of government from one place to another, your Royal Highness may judge of the state of the country. In fact, it

appears to me to be just as it was at the time of Xerxes' invasion. I have written strongly to the Provisional Government upon the subject of the abuses to which we are exposed by a strict neutrality, which, I believe, is not observed by either of the other Powers. Probably they have more good-will than means of granting redress; but I hope to confirm that good-will and strengthen those means by showing other parties, through them, the possible consequences of continuing the system. For I believe the fact to be that the different leaders overawe the Government to their own private and mercenary purposes; and that there are few of those leaders who are not connected with the abuses of which we are complaining. As the enclosed documents will explain fully the situation of Lord Cochrane, I need not enter further on his subject at present. So soon as I can make such arrangements as I think necessary here, I shall move to Smyrna, to be in more convenient communication with Mr. S. Canning. Captain Hamilton has been there some time.

I have, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From Sir E. C. to Lady C.

Napoli: 8th July.

The present history of the Greeks is precisely the same as that which preceded the expedition of Xerxes. Church has lost ground in public opinion, and nobody seems to doubt Fabvier having surrendered Athens at the instance of the French, who are said to be playing the same game, of humanity, forsooth, at Samos. I conclude some decision will come from the courts at home shortly, for it is quite impossible that they should allow matters to go on as they are now doing here. The thermometer was up at 88 in my cabin yesterday evening, and it is now, 10 A.M., 84.

July 9.

Three of the Provisional Government dined on board the 'Asia' (here, Nauplia) yesterday, with the four captains who chanced to be with me. Mavromicali is a very well-mannered sensible young man. I was obliged to deliver my sentiments in French, and have them interpreted to him by his government secretary; and notwithstanding the alarm of my *stiff* letter, he seems so well pleased with me that he will endeavour to have my wishes executed. I shall henceforth have all detained Greeks sent here for trial, in confidence of their doing as much justice as they can. These men are aware of the villany which injures their cause,

but have not at present power to put it down. They want me to hang all the pirates at once, and I had difficulty in explaining to them our laws in such cases. They evidently think the French are siding with the Turks, and they have no reliance on any Power but England.

Napoli di Romania: July 11.

Certainly, scenes which appear to be common here are enough to astonish strangers. Yesterday I went, accompanied by Curzon* and Spencer, to return the visit made to me the day before by young Mavromicali and the two secretaries. I only sent them half an hour's notice that I might avoid *fuss*. But nevertheless, we walked from the landing-place through two ranks of armed people, to the place where the Provisional Government were assembled to receive me. The wooden stairs by which we ascended seemed hardly able to bear our weight, and the floor of the room itself was little better. There was no ceiling to the room, and the swallows were flying about in it amongst the rafters. They paid great seeming attention to all I said upon the subject of their situation, and their best mode of proceeding; and assented to all my *political morality*, which I suspect must have hit some of them very hard. We took a roasting walk whilst they, by my desire, counter-ordered the firing of all the guns in the upper castle as well as the other batteries. It is the filthiest town, with the worst streets and most wretched houses, I ever saw, and including the hovels, huts, and holes without the walls, they say there are 25,000 inhabitants. I told you in my last of the feuds to which it had been exposed, but I did not expect so soon to have become an eye-witness of them. At ten o'clock last night a firing of muskets and *partereros* began betwixt the people in possession of the upper castle (Palamidi) and others in the town or outside the walls, and it has hardly now ceased (noon). The secretary of the Provisional Government came off this morning to ask my aid in embarking the *population*; but this I declined, it not being at all a cause of huamanity, but a mere quarrel of Greek chiefs; in which case the victor does not butcher the non-combatants.

3 P.M.

A boat, which is just come off, informs us that the strife is over, and the gates of the town again opened. It appears to have been another attempt of Colocotroni's party, worked up by a traitor, Coletti, who leagues with the former occasionally (each with his own view) against a third party. Coletti

* Flag Captain.

is working for the French, who have not ceased their intrigues amongst these people from the first moment of their revolution. Some boats, with women and children in, put off this morning and passed us as if going to the other side of the bay, but are relanded. They did not appear distressed, but examined the ship *en passant* with much apparent cheerfulness. Like the eels, I suppose, they are used to it.

July 12, 2 P.M.

This morning a battle began betwixt the forts or castle on the hill, and the forts on a lower hill which also commands the town. I do not imagine by what we saw that this has done any great mischief; but I understand about six have been killed in the town, by more personal encounter, and if they are all fighting men, it is no matter. The gates, by my remonstrance, have been opened for the inhabitants to embark; and they are getting out in great numbers. But I see not where this is to end, unless a Turkish force come and attack the place. I wish myself away: but do not like to go; although I cannot take upon myself to put an end to it by force.

July 13, 2 P.M.

I have been thrown into odd situations at different times when on service; but I did not expect to be called upon to *make harangues* to *Greek citizens*, as I have been doing yesterday and to-day, both on board and on shore. I get a deputation every hour from one party or another (however opposed to each other in opinion), to ask my interference. To-day I have been to the landing places where each faction has its friends; and it transported me into the times and scenes described in Shakespeare's plays. What effect my eloquence may produce, I cannot yet tell; but not being empowered to take an efficient part with either, I cannot expect much from it: our guns would speak much more to the point. But only fancy *me making speeches in French!*

July 14, 10 A.M.

I have just had a visit from Colonel Haideck the Bavarian, and Colonel Fabvier the French, Greek chiefs, to consult with me as to what can be done on the score of humanity. The result is, that I *had* done *yesterday*, all, and indeed *much* more than they have recommended to-day. I had another, and a stronger discussion last night (until 9 o'clock from sunset) with the *Photemara* party, including young Photemara himself; in which I told them, through a Greek interpreter, whom I purposely took in my boat, that 'until the persons

composing the Government, including the Legislative Body, were assembled where they could not be *awed* by a factious soldiery, Greece had no Government, nor would I acknowledge any act in its name: that if they put themselves in a boat or any other vessel afloat, or on any barren rock or hill, where neither of these factious chiefs could domineer over them, I would then acknowledge them.

Half-past 2 P.M.

Shortly after the departure of Messrs. Haideck and Fabvier, I went to the little island fort where two of the three which compose the Executive Government, and some of the Legislative Body, fixed themselves 'à l'abri de cette canaille,' and remained with them until they received information that the business was all settled. But upon my going to the landing place and asking to see the President of the Legislative Body, I found *he could not come through the gate*, thereby showing that he was *not* at liberty. My presence there enabled several boat-loads of people to escape, and finding there was an armed boat anchored off with some of Photemara's, or rather Strato's soldiers, to stop them, I sent them away; with a message to their chief, that if they used their arms upon the sea, I should seize them as pirates. The people seeing that, profited by the occasion; I have now sent a boat to row up and down, that the inhabitants may feel at liberty to quit the town as they please.

Sunday, July 15, 1827.

The inhabitants have continued to embark with their property ever since my boats have been rowing there for their protection, and there are now, I believe, sufficient numbers of both the Executive and Legislative Bodies to issue decrees as a Government: so that I shall again probably be able to refer to them as an efficient Executive Government. Almost my whole forenoon has been occupied by a visit from a Philhellenist named Washington; who spoke of his own situation, as having certain reasons which determined him never to return to America, and having bound his life to the fate of Greece, with tears which choked his utterance. He entered candidly into the conduct of his party, and agreed with the *axioms* I laid down, as to *right* and *wrong* in their circumstances; although his companion (a secretary to one of the chiefs) did not. He disavowed for his immediate party the firing on boats or impeding the inhabitants embarking, although he believed me at once when I stated the fact of other bands of *his party* having done so; and he also can-

didly admitted that his band of the confederation of Romeliote chiefs must share in the misconduct of the rest. He went away contented with my telling him that although in declaring that I would not acknowledge any act of the Government, so long as its members were subject to the control of the soldiery, since they appeared to fear my taking a part against his friends if the Government, when free agents, should proscribe them, I had no such intention whatever: that I was no more disposed to interfere with either of these Greek armies than I should be with the *Turks*, whom I consider *no greater enemies* to the *real* welfare of Greece. He promised himself to see down to the water, and to put under the protection of my boat, the family of two brothers, friends of their opponents, whom they have got in prison and who claimed my humanity in their favour.

Monday, July 16.

Alas, poor Washington! This said Philhelene hero whose visit of yesterday I have above mentioned, was brought along side this morning so desperately wounded that he died within the hour. He prided himself last night, or rather evening, with having performed his promise to me to conduct the family of Deliani in safety to my boat, which he performed honourably and at his personal risk; saying, as he closed the gate through which he secretly passed them: —'Tell your Admiral I have performed my promise.' He repeated this just before he died.

From Sir E. C. to H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence.

'Asia,' in the Gulf of Nauplia, or, as in our charts, Napoli di Romania, July 17, 1827.

SIR,—Since I last had the honour of writing to your R.H. (July 9) scenes have passed in the town of Nauplia which were very disagreeable to witness, and which *it is* very difficult to describe in their true colours. I mentioned in my letter of the 8th the foiled attempt of Colocotroni to get possession of the fort or castle of Palamidi, the Acropolis of Nauplia; and I also offered an opinion, that the different chiefs acted according to their own personal objects in defiance of the Government. Betwixt 10 and 11 o'clock on the night of the 10th we heard a smart fire of musketry in the town, which we learned, upon sending a boat to enquire, arose from a quarrel amongst the soldiery. It seems that previous to the meeting of the general assembly which Colocotroni induced to make Nauplia the seat of Government, Photimara commanded the Palamidi, and that he

put it into the possession of the family of Griva, of which five brothers (I think) are chiefs. This was done by Colocotroni, by means of his agent Coletti, for his own purpose of getting it more easily from the Grivas by bribery; Coletti, seeing in this plan a more ready means of turning it to his own account with a certain *professedly neutral* Power. Griva is said to have received the bribe from the party, admitted by agreement within a second gate of the fortress, and then to have forced them back. After this, Photimara, accompanied by Coletti, was employed to recover the fortress by force. The musketry on the night of the 10th was the commencement of this strife; which has been carried on ever since by the mortars and cannon of the Palamidi, and the lower hill which equally commands the town; the two being nearly a mile distant from each other, the former being as inaccessible as Gibraltar, and the latter being hardly less so, unless the works should be battered down by the Palamidi. Applications and deputations came to me from all parties in turn, to decide this business by force. To all I replied, that as a neutral, in strict obedience to my Government I could not in any way interfere, except in performing such acts of humanity as circumstances admitted of: and to all and each of them I made known that I considered the Government of Greece in suspension, and that I should not again acknowledge it, until its members were assembled out of the armed power of either of the contending parties. Two of the three composing the executive (one being the President, young Prince Mavromicali) and several of the Legislative Body, having already escaped, an opportunity offered for others doing the same by my adoption of a measure which humanity made me consider a duty. On my personally requesting that the unoffending inhabitants, particularly the women and children, might be permitted to quit the place, I was promised by each of the chiefs whom I addressed, that no impediment should be offered to them. Upon subsequently asking the people at gates which I myself ascertained to be open, why they did not embark, they told me they were fired upon by musketry from the ramparts; and they profited largely by my presence at the moment; which induced me to prolong the occasion, by addressing the different parties in command upon the disobedience of their men. Again in the evening observing a check and enquiring the cause, I found some soldiers in boats sent there for the purpose, who concealed their arms on my approach. I informed them, and desired they would repeat what I said to the chief who sent them, that armed

people acting in that manner afloat, were subject to be treated as pirates; and that I should seize them as such if they repeated their conduct without regular authority. I found a sufficient reason in this lawless proceeding for keeping one of the 'Asia's' boats moving about opposite the town, by which means many families effected their escape.

July 19.

Not foreseeing any end to this dispute, and the greater part of those who wished it having quitted the town, I left the 'Talbot' and 'Brisk' here and set out for Smyrna, where I was expected by Mr. S. Canning. When off the town of Spezzia on the evening of July 17, I was joined by the 'Cambrian' with Mr. Elliot, one of Mr. S. Canning's Secretaries on board, charged with the important information of the Treaty being signed. Agreeing with Mr. Elliot in the necessity of Greek Government being again established in full power over the fortress of Nauplia, I returned here with the 'Cambrian' and 'Raleigh' immediately.

July 21.

We have been incessantly employed since our arrival in endeavouring to terminate this very injurious and disgraceful strife; pointing out, not only how necessary union is to their success, but that jealousies and bickerings like these, may actually prevent the Treaty being carried into execution. I am at length able to say, that, according to appearances our exertions have been successful.

Heads or representatives of the different parties have been assembled on board the 'Asia' several times. Assenting to my reasoning and to my advice, they would, I am confident, have acted upon it sooner, but for the difficulty of satisfying their soldiers, who are greatly in arrear of pay. The state of Nauplia at this critical moment has been watched with great attention by the subjects of France and Austria, and transmitted to Smyrna. I was therefore induced not only to do my utmost to restore harmony, but to wait there until I could myself carry such an account of it to Mr. S. Canning as would prevent any check to the execution of the Treaty which Mr. Elliot informed me was signed by Great Britain. And having just now received Mr. Elliot's despatches for the Ambassador, I am making the best of my way to counteract the ill effect of the former reports.

Smyrna: July 24, 5 P.M.

I proposed sending this to Mr. S. Canning to forward through Sir H. Wellesley that your R.H. may not be too long

without knowing how we are going on. Should the Treaty bring me into more intimate contact with the Greeks, I shall hope to obtain their own aid in suppressing piracy. They are already persuaded that we alone have preserved an honourable neutrality; and I anticipate their acceding to certain measures which I have to propose with that view, which will be beneficial to all parties.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

From Sir E. C. to the Admiralty.

'Asia,' at Nauplia: July 21, 1827.

SIR,—The enclosed copy of a letter from me to the Provisional Government of Greece, and their answer, will acquaint his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral with the motives of my coming to this place, and the consideration which has been given to the representations I found it necessary to make. Frequent interviews subsequently have shown me, that the members of the Executive Government are extremely desirous of executing my wishes; but they have at the same time enabled me to judge of the numerous difficulties they have to contend with.

The Government itself was, in fact, put in jeopardy on the 10th instant, by quarrels amongst the military chiefs, which it has been found very difficult to adjust, even since the arrival of Mr. Elliot, who came in the 'Cambrian,' on the part of his Excellency, Mr. Stratford Canning, to make known the signature of the Treaty. The batteries which command the town, have been in open war with each other for ten days, by which many lives have been lost and much injury done to the houses of individuals obnoxious to either party. After several meetings of the opposing parties with the heads of Government on board the 'Asia,' we have succeeded in obtaining for the Executive the entire control of the fortress; and I trust the prospect held out by the treaty, and the deference which has been shown to our opinions and our wishes, will give it greater stability hereafter than it has heretofore had.

As I have reason to believe accounts of the disastrous state of this town have been carried to Smyrna, and are by this time industriously circulated by those who wish to obstruct the execution of the Treaty, I shall myself proceed to that place to prevent their ill effects so soon as I receive Mr. Elliot's despatches for Mr. S. Canning.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

From Sir E. C. to Lady C.

Tuesday, July 17.

I rejoice in finding myself now only in distant hearing of the guns of Napoli (or more properly Nauplia)* which are still exhibiting the hostility of the rival factions. Things are, however, in a way to be settled. The Government, complete in its number of members, were assembled yesterday evening out of the power of the rebel chiefs, as the President personally announced to me on board this ship; and had decreed their removal to Spezzia, by which means the intrigue of Colocotroni is defeated. There are great hopes of the Government catching Coletti, the prime mover of all mischief, who is supposed to be acting for our great *Neutral* rival. Fabvier, although, as he told me, a private individual, having sent in his resignation, tried an intrigue to gain the Palamidi *under an order of the Government*; failing in this (the getting the order from the Government) he is gone to rejoin his 'tacticos' of about 1,000 men, at Methana (which is on the isthmus that joins Cape Estimo to the mainland near Poros). He dined on board a French war schooner the evening of his departure, and was very attentively received by her captain, Vaillant. Nobody seems to doubt his having been influenced by the French; and there was a man on board yesterday, who said that he should put his information to that effect in print. Certainly, after fighting for Spain against the Angoulême hero (unless, indeed, he was there playing the same game) it is difficult to reconcile his intimacy and kind treatment by the French navy. The French schooner went back to Smyrna on the evening of her arrival at Nauplia, I suppose to carry the good news of the place being in a civil war. This (Spezzia) is so deep a bay and the surrounding land is so high, that I am told the wind does not blow home in winter; and as we have experienced, it is subject to be without wind in summer, and the thermometer has consequently been varying from 84° and 85° to 89°. Our people are, however, very healthy. Bathing and *fresh grub* seem to agree with them.

July 18.

The Treaty being actually signed in London by the English and Russian ministers, and reported by De Rigny to be signed also by the French at Paris, we are now on our way back to Nauplia, to see if we cannot so adjust things there as to prevent its being said that there is no Greek Government, or party to be termed and considered as the Greek

* On the way to Spezzia.

nation. Although the thermometer is only at 79° there is not a breath of wind, and the sun is therefore very oppressive.

Nauplia: July 19.

We got here in time yesterday to have our communication with the Government and make the arrangements for a meeting of the factious chiefs with the Government on board the 'Asia' to-day. Neither Hamilton nor I approve quite of Mr. Elliot's bringing down Mavrocordato and Tricoupi to aid in the adjustment of this affair; but it may be *diplomatically* right for all I know. I suggested yesterday, that not being any part of *the* Government, it would not be proper to mix them in a conference with a selection from that Government. That selection was composed only of the two remaining out of the three which composed the *Executive*, and the President *only* of the *Legislative* body: they were therefore not invited. I think it will all go on well, because besides that Mr. Elliot comes to say the Treaty *is* signed, and to explain what it is, he has shown the necessity of such measures on the part of the Greeks to enable the Allies to carry it into execution, as I had warned them, must be *preliminary* to it, before I saw him or *knew* anything: which shows the general opinion of our nation, on which the Greeks rely principally, if not solely, for support. Since the opposing chiefs were each anxious to conciliate me, and to be assured that I should not use the means in my power against their individual interests,—they will probably be more ready to attend to my suggestions now that they know of the English Government being actually a party in the affairs of Greece. But I am speculating on what will be ascertained in a few hours: and thus it is, whenever my mind is burdened by a subject of such importance—and I obtain a certain relief in the occupation.

5 P.M.

The affair is, I hope, settled. We got Strato on board, with the *three* who form the Executive, and a certain number of the Legislature (who had been deputed to communicate with him) with Mavrocordato and Tricoupi, combining thus the several Greek interests, with the exception of Grivas, who probably could not well pass in safety to the boat, and who is supposed to be willing to obey the Government. Strato started by requiring to retain one of the three forts in his possession. This led me into the field of controversy earlier than I meditated. But I found that as I advanced my principles of what government is, the necessity of mili-

tary obedience, the impossibility of our ambassador considering Greece as having any Government to be represented by the Treaty *unless* the members were again put into full possession of the fortress of Nauplia, he began to give way. I remarked upon the effect which would be produced at Smyrna by the report of an Austrian brig of war which left Poros three days ago with an account of the disturbance, and that of the French schooner which sailed from hence two days ago, each desirous probably of making the worst of it; and the arguments which some of the Powers would join the Porte in founding on it, for ending the Treaty at once: and that the only effectual way of counteracting this, would be, enabling me to proceed (as I would do with the utmost expedition) with information of the town being again regularly under the control of the Government, and with some practical proof of their again issuing their decrees from it as before, *unawed* by the military. Mr. Elliot felt satisfied with the progressive improvement in the state of mind of the parties as we went on, Tricoupi interpreting my English very satisfactorily; and when we had got them all to the desired point of concord, we at once urged their carrying the agreement into execution, as I believe they are at this minute doing. I have scrawled this down hastily whilst the substance was in my memory, through many interruptions. Among others by the arrival of the 'Hellas' with the *Greek Lord High Admiral*, whose flag I have not, and intend not, to salute. I admit, however, that this must appear remarkable in the eyes of all those Greeks who have joined to-day in *our* salute for the king's coronation. I believe every gun in the whole fortress has been fired, and the *compliment was enhanced by many of them being shotted.*

July 22.

Thank God! we are again in deep water, with Nauplia some eighty miles astern of us. On the 18th I thought everything settled; but Greek soldiers, clamorous for arrears of pay, prefer reasoning themselves to being guided by the reasoning of others. However, after all the fresh difficulties which sprang up, and after the fresh deputations and consultations about putting them down, all seemed sufficiently arranged yesterday for Mr. Elliot to be able to say, 'Harmony is restored;' and after waiting till 9 P.M. for letters which he assured me would be ready at 5, I am now on my way to counteract the ill effects of the accounts carried by French and Austrians, and, no doubt, by this time industriously circulated at Constantinople. I am sick of the sight

of this letter: I tried to read it over just now, and found it such a mass of confusion, I fear you will hardly make out anything but that I have been in a constant worry of mind and body, and have, as usual, sought relief in making you the sharer of my torments.

Off Scio: Monday, July 23.

The Turkish coast about Tchesme exhibits vineyards and other cultivation, in strong contrast to all we have lately seen; and the town of Scio, opposite, being composed of houses of a superior description, detached and surrounded by fruit trees and gardens, extending along the E. side of the island, and rising up the hill, promises great gratification on a nearer approach. Alas! they are the ruined shells of wealthy Greeks, who had retired to live in ease and comfort in this attractive spot, and who were annihilated in that horrid massacre, which has disgraced even the name of *Turk*, already so stained in blood. Two months were the people of the Captain Pacha's fleet employed in this butchery; and most effectually did they do their work. Out of 120,000 souls 30,000 were murdered in cold blood, and the houses reduced to ruins! The population last year, including those who returned, as not knowing where else to find subsistence, reached only 10,000! My pilot, an able and excellent fellow, says that, long after the massacre, he could hardly find his way about the town, owing to the destruction and the heaps of putrid bodies, which nauseated him even to vomiting. I assure you I never have contemplated a scene more sickening to the mind than this view of Scio. There is nothing that can palliate a massacre like this, at least in our opinion. But the Turks accuse the rich Sciotes of being the first exciters of the revolt at Samos; and it was the Samians who went over to Scio and excited the revolt there, which brought upon them such severe chastisement; those very Samians escaping to Samos, and leaving the others to their fate. It is said that a certain party is working to get Samos back for the Turks, à la Athens; but I should think even such diplomatic dexterity can scarcely lead the people of that island to expose themselves to the avenging wrath of the decapitating Sultan.

July 25.

Smyrna is a very odd but very uninviting town in appearance; and having rowed along near the beach of the town with Harry, to the great discomfiture of our *olfactory* nerves (a mass of locusts having fallen on the beach), I do not

think I shall make myself much more practically acquainted with it.

The old consul, Mr. Werry, at 88 years old, has made me a visit in a red coat, which, of the two, seemed most the worse for wear, the former apparently having originally been the *best built* of the two.

From Sir E. C. to Lady C.

Smyrna: July 26, 1827.

You will get a long detail of my proceedings with this, which I shall send open for Adam's perusal, that it may save my writing to him, and doing what I cannot contentedly do in temperate weather, much more with the thermometer varying from 84° to 90°—viz., repeat my own words. Yesterday I went to our Consul's, received the formal visits of all the foreign Consuls, and afterwards of the English merchants; this process over, I returned the visits of the former and then paid my respects to the Pacha. We had now been in this *stewing* process from eleven till two o'clock. Accompanied by my captains and the Consul, and preceded by some half dozen of his Turks in the usual form, we passed through a crowd of attendants of different ranks into the presence of his Highness. He did not rise from his *tailor-like* posture, but *signed* us gracefully to the ottoman round the room on either side of him, he being himself in the angle. As it was my business to begin, and as high compliment was the order of the day, I begged the dragoman would say that 'I felt great pleasure in personally paying my respects to a person so much esteemed by my countrymen, and indeed all others who visited Smyrna.' His Highness replied 'that he was extremely glad that he had the opportunity of making my acquaintance; that he was about to send his dragoman to offer me such assistance as he had at command, when I anticipated him by proposing to call upon him.' The general tenor of the conversation was much in the same style—complimentary on both sides, savouring somewhat of what *we express* by the word *humbug*, and therefore not worth recording. But you will judge of his style by one particular speech, which I consider as a good specimen of his general politeness, with which his manner and countenance harmonised. Pacha: 'Of the succession of British admirals with whom I have become acquainted, each has seemed to surpass the other; but I request to be informed if Sir Harry Neale is in good health.' On another occasion, upon receiving an answer to some question he had put to me about our customs,

he observed, as the dragoman put it in French, 'Que tous les officiers Anglais sont braves.' Speaking of this ship, which he liked much to have opposite his window, I said that although I was aware that his Highness did not visit ships of one nation in order to avoid displeasing others—if curiosity induced him to visit the 'Asia' in a private capacity it would give me great pleasure to receive him. He answered at once that 'If he were to appoint a time, and any business were to prevent him, it might put me to inconvenience; but that if he should find an opportunity of gratifying his wish, he would send me word of it.' I conclude that he has not the least intention of coming; and, indeed, that at this moment of interference with his master, he dare not; but you will see in it the address of the man, which marks quickness and intelligence. My visit lasted above an hour, and he certainly seemed much pleased with it. Pipes, coffee, fresh pipes, and then fresh coffee, and a wind-up of sherbet or lemonade, accompanied the conversation. His own pipe had diamonds at the handle, and the bowl rested on a silver saucer on the carpet; mine had more ornament than the others, but, like them, rested on a brass saucer. There was an attendant for each; the pipes were clean, as they were long; the tobacco was mild and good, and the coffee hot and well-tasted. The dragoman never spoke without putting his hand to his lips and then to his forehead, a custom which has not yet been explained to me. My band is to play under his window this evening. I understand that with the change to the European style of soldiering, these gentlemen wish to have bands of music, but they have a long journey to advance in everything before they will bear comparison in *any one* branch of military arrangement. In the meantime the Sultan himself and his plans may be annihilated at any moment when least expected.

July 30.

A passage in Mitford's *Greece* just now reminds me of a circumstance which I believe I did not mention in my account of the affray at Nauplia, which is curious as showing the unchangeableness of these people. We used in the stillness of the night air to hear the parties in the two forts hail and abuse each other in the coarsest language of defiance. Mitford mentions parties of the Syracusans personally addressing the Athenians in the same ill language.

Sir E. C. to his brother, Mr. Bethell.

Napoli de Romania: July 21, 1827.

I know not from whence I last wrote to you, my dear Bethell. I may therefore possibly repeat what I have before said. However, I may shortly say that from Malta I went to Corfu, the passage down to which from the north is quite beautiful, as indeed is the island altogether. I passed four days there with my friend Adam, I cannot say altogether pleasantly, because each day was made a day of form out of respect to my office; but, no doubt, most usefully to the service. They, with reason, make a visit there from the Admiral a matter of importance, and show the most marked respect to him; thus elevating, as much as possible, *his* consequence, and increasing thereby his power of assisting *them*. But you may judge how far it accords with my habits to move perpetually through guards of honour, heads of authority, and battery salutes. Adam, and some of his Staff, embarked with me at Corfù, from whence we went, first to Cephalonia, thence to Zante, and thence to Cerigo. At the two former we avoided landing in order to escape the consequent ceremonials; but at Cerigo my opinion was wanted in certain proposed improvements, and I underwent a really broiling ride of some four hours, *part* of which exemplified the exertion used in making perfect roads, and the greater part proving, at the risk of our necks at every yard, how very much they are required. Cephalonia and Cerigo absolutely astound the mind with their general barrenness, the eye being only occasionally relieved by symptoms of cultivation, the only really cheerful vegetation being oleanders eight or nine feet high, in full flower and luxuriant foliage. Zante, however, is altogether beautiful, like Corfù, and also, like Corfù, rich in soil and production. Next we went to Milo, where there is a perfect harbour after passing through a very inconvenient distance of too deep water to get to it. The island itself is even more barren than those above mentioned, and fruitful only in a set of Candiotes, who have taken refuge there in numbers exceeding the inhabitants, whom they consequently plunder at their pleasure. From Milo we went to Poros, whence we came here upon learning that the Provisional Government had removed. We tacked close to Lord Cochrane's ship at Poros to come away, instead of anchoring as we had intended if the Government had been still there; and he came here himself in his 'Hellas' yesterday. He has made his overtures to me, but I have declined all intercourse with him except through his Government. He told Captain Hamilton

he had expected this decision on my part when he offered to wait on me, but that he did not wish me to suppose he was in any way wanting in respect to me personally. Upon my arrival here, I sent in a very strong letter to the Greek Government, to which I had a very satisfactory reply. This was followed by their dining with me and my returning their visit the following day; on which two occasions I laid down the necessity of their sacrificing their private jealousies, and uniting under the orders of the Government; themselves putting down piracy to the utmost, and forming a tribunal upon which our officers could rely in doubtful cases. This was all very smooth and pretty on both sides. But on the night of the 10th, a firing of musketry in the town proved to be the beginning of a quarrel among the chiefs, which was shortly followed by a battle betwixt the fort or castle called Palamidi, on an inaccessible hill, and the batteries of a lower hill, which equally commands the town. After fruitless endeavours to restore harmony, and after having, by persuasion and by various contrivances, enabled almost all the peaceful inhabitants to quit the town, I was pursuing my voyage to Smyrna, when, on the 17th, at Spezzia, the 'Cambrian' joined me with Mr. Elliot, one of Mr. S. Canning's Secretaries, bringing news of *the* Treaty being signed. This brought us all together back here directly, and notwithstanding we have had all the Chiefs and the Members of the Executive and Legislative bodies on board the 'Asia,' we have not yet entirely settled the business, although we have produced a termination of the fighting. All have acknowledged the soundness of the observations which Mr. E. and myself have made, on the consequences of such scenes as to the execution of the Treaty, and therefore to the freedom of Greece itself; and though the chiefs promised us to quit the town, whether with or without their soldiers, hitherto the latter would not let them, and are now in suspension. Imagine me addressing, day after day, Greek soldiers and citizens upon both moral and political right and wrong, with an interpreter transferring my doctrine into modern Greek, even to the emphasis and the action, as if he were actually mimicking me. Such, however, has been my principal occupation for these last ten days, with the thermometer varying from 85° to 90°; and I assure you I am very much worked down by it. I cannot tell you how much I lament not having Will here to sketch the characters in their various and picturesque costumes. I have scribbled thus far as a little relaxation from the mass of business which lies before me, to which I must now return.

Sunday, July 22.

I am happy to find myself some eighty miles from Nauplia, on my way to Smyrna, with news of the quarrels being over and the town and fortress being under the control of the Government.

At Smyrna: July 28.

I find I had already run into that very repetition I was desirous of avoiding. You must, however take it as it is; for I have not time to write otherwise than in this hurried way, by way of relief from that worrying correspondence on official matters which I find, in its effect on the temperature of my body, is equal to several degrees rise of the thermometer. The several islands which your map will show you we pass by in coming here, are generally mere barren rock, which radiates heat. Scio, that part of it at least which, facing the Turkish shore forms the straits of that name, on the contrary, shows much wealthy cultivation. At a distance it looked very attractive, the houses being of a superior sort, the residences of rich Greeks, who retired there to live in luxury; the houses generally detached from each other, and surrounded by fruit trees and gardens. Upon a near approach, we found all these houses in a state of ruin, windows, doors, and all moveable parts, including the roofs, taken away. Here was the scene of that dreadful massacre of thirty thousand Greeks, including women and children, which has stained with still deeper dye the bloody name of Turk! Of 120,000 souls, 10,000 have returned for want of any other home, and some 80,000 are still wandering in exile, or, perhaps, justifying to themselves, on the score of retribution, a life of general piracy! On the part of the Turks, it is said that the Sciotes were the first fomenters of the revolution at Samos. And the Samiotes, after their own success, excited the revolution in Scio; and upon the arrival of the Turkish fleet, retired at once, in their vessels to their own island. This fleet remained two months performing their work of butchery; and after filling the wells, &c., with the bodies, &c., they left so many in the streets that my informant could scarcely find his way, or bear the stench without vomiting! And when we are called upon to execute *the Treaty* between such people as the Turks and the Greeks, what an undertaking we have to perform!

Smyrna: July 28.

I have never felt a wish to see another war till now, and I really think it might prove a more humane way of settling affairs here than any other. One strong act of coercion

would place the Porte at our mercy, and we would then settle the whole matter as we chose, and take Candia to ourselves into the bargain—a consummation, in my opinion, devoutly to be wished. However, it is to be presumed I shall shortly have orders to guide me instead of my own speculations. On the 25th I went through the stewing process of being visited at the Consul's house by all the foreign Consuls, and then returning their visits in due form; of receiving the British merchants; and lastly, of visiting the Pacha. I was put into practice in some measure by the French Consul, who was anxious to 'pluck out my mystery,' when I determined that he should not; and thus prepared, I went to compliment the Pacha, who was equally prepared to compliment me; and after flattering and smoking, drinking coffee and sherbet, and again smoking, drinking, and eating ice during a good hour by all the clocks in Smyrna, as well as that of Shrewsbury, I was extremely glad to find myself on board the 'Asia' again. The Pacha has a very good countenance and an excellent address, and certainly has given the Christian residents here a confidence in his police heretofore not known; and this has induced me to play my part with all the attention I could. I am told I was very successful, and that the good effects of my visit have made a sensation in the town, which rewards me for the physical sufferings I underwent from eleven to nearly four o'clock in a temperature of about 90°. In such a climate, however much we are quizzed for it in England, I find not only people's conversation, but their principal occupation is how to escape bodily suffering from the weather. Bodily inconvenience I certainly feel, but in health I have nothing to complain of, although I do all those things which some think equal to sudden death. For instance, I am now sitting without my coat at the mouth of a windsail which seems struggling to blow my paper away from me: and at night I do so with nothing on but my shirt, in order to cool myself enough to sleep, which I do *on* my bed in a free course of air ('tell it not in Gath') *sans* anything but my shirt.

August 3.

I have had despatches from Mr. S. Canning, but as yet no Treaty, although we know it is signed and that the delay is doing great mischief.

Your affectionate

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

From Sir E. C. to H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence.

'Asia,' Smyrna: August 1, 1827.

SIR,—I have this day had the honour of receiving the circular letter respecting the appointment of commanders to ships of the line and flag ships, to do the duty of first lieutenants. And I have also received another letter announcing the promotion of Lieutenant Fletcher of the 'Talbot,' and his appointment to supersede my first lieutenant, in the duties of the 'Asia.' No man knows better than your Royal Highness the value of a good first lieutenant, and that the system of allowing every captain to name the one of his choice has been deemed advantageous to the discipline of the fleet. Lieutenant Baynes* of the 'Asia,' who served his midshipman's time with me when Captain Curzon was one of my lieutenants, is not only the officer of our united choice, but has proved himself, by the perfect organisation of this ship at a very early period after a winter outfit, to be equal to any first lieutenant in his Majesty's service. I therefore humbly but earnestly request of your Royal Highness, from your love of discipline, from your desire to encourage merit, and from a generous consideration of old attachment arising from meritorious conduct, that you would spare Lieutenant Baynes, Captain Curzon, and myself the pain, the humiliation, of having such an officer put down in the scale of his profession, and an utter stranger to us put into his situation. I hope and trust your Royal Highness, in consideration to my being permitted only to name my first and flag-lieutenants in the first instance, and being refused my purser, whose labours in the scientific part of the profession have procured him the high approbation of the Board of Longitude, the Trinity House, &c., &c., and even of the Board of Admiralty itself,—will forgive the freedom I have used in thus expressing my feelings upon a subject intimately connected with the power of executing usefully to my country and satisfactorily to myself, the very anxious and arduous duties which I am called upon to perform.

I have the honour, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

The object of Sir E. C. in going to Smyrna was to be in quick communication by courier with Mr. Stratford Canning, our Ambassador at Constantinople, to whom he was referred for instructions as to the time and execution of the Treaty of July. Though he had

* The late Vice Admiral Sir R. Baynes.

received a copy of the Treaty, he had not received the authority to act upon the Instructions that formed part of it; yet the Expedition from Alexandria was known to be on the point of attacking Greece, probably on the side of Hydra.

From Sir E. C. to Mr. S. Canning.

'Asia,' Smyrna: August 1, 1827.

I consider it as a good precaution in the French Ambassador, to have apprised Admiral De Rigny of the Treaty, that he might be prepared to act on it: and but for the communication of it which you have now made to me, I might have felt it my duty to proceed to some other part of my station. Monsieur De Rigny, who made me a visit this morning, thinks the Porte will resist at first; but that a certain number of guns will produce submission. If we should be driven thus far, I hope we shall exact our own terms afterwards. But as to acting conjointly with the French squadron, I must say candidly, that I will not do so if I can avoid it. I will not willingly trust the credit of our flag and my own character, to the conduct of those whom I cannot punish for disobedience and neglect of duty.

With respect to declaring my determination to take vengeance for any injury inflicted by the Turks or their Government on any of our establishments in this country, I shall be most ready to do so whenever you my think the proper time for it is arrived. In the meantime I will catch at any opening for letting my sentiments on this subject become known to the Pacha of this place; who from the windows of his own residence has ocular evidence of my having ample power to do it. Indeed a reference to the letter which I sent to your Excellency on March 31 will plainly show my readiness to repel insult and punish injuries by whomever offered. Some one vessel at least shall remain at Smyrna or at Vourla, in readiness for any communications which your Excellency may have to send. But such is the demand for convoy, and such the clamour about piracies, that I shall probably take a short cruise myself, with the intention of returning here by the middle of the month. It is as well to make known to your Excellency that in reply to an offer made by Lord Cochrane to wait on me, I informed him, that disapproving of his conduct I declined any communication with him except through the Greek Government.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

From Sir E. C. to Mr. Consul Salt.—(Secret.)

'Asia,' Smyrna: August 1, 1827.

By letters which I have just received from H. E. Mr. Stratford Canning, I consider the crisis of affairs betwixt the Porte and Greece as near at hand. I am persuaded that H. H. the Pacha of Egypt, from the more liberal system of commerce which he has established with Great Britain, would not willingly find himself opposed to us; and I therefore think I am acting consistently with the wishes of my Government, in suggesting to you the propriety of advising him to avoid if possible placing his fleet in a situation, likely to bring it into collision with H.M. ships under my command. If the conduct of the Porte should make it my duty to act in hostility toward the Turkish ships, I can have no hesitation in doing so. But considering the Pacha as not a willing party to any measures which may interrupt the harmony which at present subsists between him and England, and confident that he would not in any case treat our establishments at Alexandria with indignity of any sort, I would gladly avail myself of any such forbearance on his part, to withhold the severity of injury which rashness on the part of the Porte may possibly make it my indispensable duty to inflict upon its subjects generally.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

From Sir E. C. to Doctor Wollaston.

Smyrna: August ?, 1827.

As I cannot thank you all three for your interesting accounts of the poor Tunnel,* I must depute you, my dear friend, to tell both Brunel and Martin that I am very sensible of their kindness. From the first account of this disaster I have always felt confident in the shield and the abilities which direct it enabling the work to be again carried on. But the funds,—there's the rub. The fact is, that few, very few of the subscribers had any other feeling than an expectation of profit, and the *pecuniary* 'public spirit' of England has generally had a tendency that way, in the manner of *what was ludicrously called the 'loyalty loan.'*

Writing to a friend is relaxation of the mind. But I take

* The Tunnel under the Thames, commenced 1824, and of which Sir E. C., as a great friend of Brunel, became a director, and in the execution of which he took an active personal interest. The 'disaster' was the breaking of the Thames into the work, entirely filling it with water.

it, as I am now doing, at a somewhat unseasonable hour,—midnight; although I start from my cot again at six in the morning. The heat here has been very oppressive. The thermometer generally from 85° to 90° with an ovenly N. E. wind coming over a barren rocky hill dry as drought, and radiating at night all that it has so amply imbibed during the cloudless day. The interference of the Christian Powers has been so delayed that Greece is absolutely frittered away into the subdivisions of party chiefs. I tried hard (in the character of a Neutral) to rally them around their Government at Napoli di Romania, when they were all fighting with each other for the possession of that fortress: and if I had had the character of an ally which the Treaty will give me, I could have done a great deal more than the mere appeal to humanity admitted of. The Turkish fleet lingers in Alexandria, although ready; the Pacha fearing the effect on it of the Treaty, if met by us at sea. Tell Brunel the way to spread news of the Tunnel is by a letter to, or for Galignani. In his messages of June 30, there is an extract from the 'Globe' of some three days before, very satisfactory to the Tunnel's well wishers: indeed it was by that means that I first learnt the disaster. Captain Copeland has sent me three bottles of water for you, and will now get more; even his little 'Mastiff' has been called away from her occupation* by the demand for ships. He will do his work well, but ought to have some other ship to help him; and the instruments supplied him are sent in such a state that we have made a joint complaint of it. He could not have gone on but for his private supply. Such has been the attention to science of Messrs. —— and ——. Lady C. and girls well at Lucca Baths, July 2. Henry and his father well here, and the said Henry, I must say, has all the good which his late Captain† attributed to him.

Your sincere friend,

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

From Sir E. C. to Captain Hamilton, H.M.S. 'Cambrian.'

Smyrna: August 1, 1827.

The treaty *ratified*, I think will not reach Mr. S. C. for this fortnight, according to letters from him just come by Mr. Scarlett. In the mean time, if you should meet the

* To try the specific gravity of the water in various parts of the Mediterranean.

† Captain Robert Spencer, with whom he served three years in the 'Naiad.'

Egyptian fleet and have the opportunity, it would be useful to insinuate the danger of their being employed against the Greeks, when the Treaty may require us to act; that it would be unpleasant to me, as considering the Pacha a friend to intercourse with us, to have to inflict injury upon him for the rashness of the Sultan. This might be the means of their not doing anything in the interval against the Greeks. The 'Rose' is in the Gulf of Scio, with the transport. One of the brigs might come over here for news and a *wash*, whether I am still here or not. I meditate a cruise till the middle of August, when Mr. S. C. will have to speak out to me. No 'Dartmouth': these letters Davis brought from Malta and sent to me overland from Tchesme.

E. C.

P.S. The Greeks may thank Lord C. for having forced the Pacha of Alexandria to have his fleet ready when he would have willingly delayed it.

From Sir E. C. to Lady C.

Smyrna: August 2.

The Treaty, though known to be signed, is gone round by St. Petersburgh, as it is said, and will not be here this fortnight, I fear.

Vourla, near Smyrna: August 7, 1827.

The newspapers will tell you, as they do me, that I am to have a French and Russian squadron to act with me, and, what is more to my taste, our ships of the line from Lisbon; but I have no line on the subject officially. Only think of 'The Times' of the 12th July having in it the Treaty which was not made complete for sending off to Mr. Stratford Canning till that day, and is a profound secret! You must not expect to see me, I fear, for some time, under present circumstances. My situation, it must be confessed, is an arduous one; but it is professionally a very ostensible one, and I trust I shall have health and nerves to stand all the responsibility attached to it; and if I get well through it, it will assuredly be of use to our dear Harry. Sometimes, when I get a little '*excédé*' by the excess of work, this recollection cheers me up, and I start afresh again. But, in truth, I should make a better chief if I had you at my elbow, let the regulators of naval affairs say or think what they may. Little Paget is in the 'Talbot,' whose captain (F. Spencer) has an old head upon young shoulders. I do not apprehend the usual maltreatment of the Franks here, or at Alexandria, or at any place where there is any authority, on account of this Treaty. I have, however, gone as far as I could in the ex-

pression of opinions which may confirm the good intentions of the Pachas in preventing it; although I have not a line of information or instruction to guide me.

From H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence to Sir E. C.

'Royal Sovereign' yacht, Plymouth: July 16, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—You will see from whence I write that I have not time to say all I ought in consequence of the important despatches which this accompanies. I make no doubt discretion, prudence, and perfect deliberation will be your guides. One thing I particularly mention: *not* permitting yourself to be commanded by the Admirals of *either* of the *other* Powers. Your card is the more difficult because I am afraid France is not sincere, and perhaps Russia is not. But I am sure coolness and deliberation will direct you.

I shall be anxious to know the course this negotiation *will* or *may* take.

God bless you, and ever believe me,

Yours most truly,

WILLIAM.

From Sir E. C. to Sir Frederick Adam, at Corfu. (*Secret.*)

Vourla, near Smyrna: August 7, 1827.

The 'Alacrity' got here about three P.M. to-day, just when I was ruminating over the *Treaty*, a copy of which I received in '*very great* confidence' several days ago, and the instructions emanating from it which I received *only at* 2 A.M. *this morning*. I am, nevertheless, equally obliged, my dear Adam, for your information, not only on this subject, but the others which accompany it. It is altogether a business of great interest as well as great importance, as you say; and I wish to God I had you at my side, to counsel me in taking a correct view of all which I have to do in it. The only information or instruction which I have is from perusing these, as yet to me unauthorised documents; and I see in the proper execution of their contents full as much difficulty as there is deficiency of information. It seems extraordinary that I should not have had a line either from the Duke of Clarence since he has been in office, upon my duties here, nor a single word from Cockburn, to whom I have written so often since I left England; and moreover, that I should now be left to the signatures of the three Ministers for the line I am to pursue, and to the newspapers to learn what means I am to have to carry the Treaty into execution. So it is however, and I must make the best of it. I have already taken measures for inducing the Pachas of Smyrna and of Egypt to prevent

any insult being offered to any of the Christians. I have told this man, through a safe and sensible medium, who has his good opinion as well as mine, 'that in case of the violence of the Sultan leading to the extremity of my being ordered to use force against all his subjects generally, I shall gladly profit by his, the Pacha's, issuing a proclamation against any such insults, and his taking care, as I am sure he will, that none are offered.' I have reason to hope that this will have its effect; since, besides his regulating the police of the town extremely well, the Sultan and his measures are unpopular with the people. The other Pacha, I have equal reason to think, will be glad of an excuse for retiring from the contest; nor would he have had his fleet ready even now, if Lord C. had not, by his very unenterprising visit, obliged him to get ready in his own defence. The name that till then had a certain fear attached to it, rather excites in the Pacha now an opposite feeling. However, upon the whole, my dear Adam, I think there is not much cause to apprehend insult and injury to the Franks on account of this Treaty. I should tell you I purposely drew the attention of the Pacha to the 'Asia's' broadside from his windows, that he might see how easily we could destroy him and all his Turks. It is true I cannot confide in the conduct of ———, and what am I to do with———? I have told Mr. S. C. that I will not have them under my orders if I can help, because I cannot punish them if they disobey. But what then? I *cannot* help it, and I will therefore make the best of it. *They* need not know my want of confidence in them; and I think amongst them all, it is hard if they do not teach me to be as 'diplomatique' as the rest of them. In short, Lord Granville may rely upon my trusting as much in them as possibly he does in the ministers of Charles the Tenth. How could 'The Times' manage to get hold of this Treaty? However, I shall send the paper to Hamilton* by Hope Johnstone, for him to turn it to such account as he may find useful; and I certainly think he may profit by it in preparing the Greeks to assent to it, and to remove all difficulties to its execution in an early stage. The very delay in the publication of this Treaty has prepared all ranks for it gradually, which is so far good, and certainly the Pachas have somehow or other been fully apprised of it. As you know *I* have always been for taking high ground with the Turks, as the best way of keeping them alive to our power, and thus preventing their calling it into action by any of their

* Captain G. Hamilton, H.M.S. 'Cambrian.'

customary barbarities. I think it would have been well for Mr. S. C. to have seconded this feeling at an earlier period. I was so annoyed by the account of the 'Nemesis' in your former letter, that I had prepared a strong letter for Hamilton to present to the Greek Government about it; but which I shall now withhold until I have the particulars. But we must not mince these matters with either of these demi-savage belligerents. If I get the force named in the papers, I should not apprehend much from the united power of Turk, French, and Russian, altogether. I suppose, by the way, the French will increase their force here also.

From Sir E. C. to Capt. Hamilton, H.M.S. 'Cambrian.'
(Secret.)

At Vourla: August 7, 1827.

I had intended moving from hence to-morrow to communicate personally with you and the Greek Government, and to return; but the arrival of the Treaty in nineteen days from London, is a surprise upon us all. It is dated the 6th July, and other documents 12th July. I have not a line from the Lord High Admiral by the same messenger, and know nothing of any reinforcements: and I think it possible the Russian squadron mentioned in the newspapers may actually be coming here. You may judge how comfortable it will make me to have to rely upon French and Russians. In truth, I shall place no reliance upon any but ourselves. I send a letter open to you, which you are to seal and present, unless you see some special reason for withholding it of which I may not be aware. I was about to add something in reference to the principle Mr. Glarachi mentioned one day to me, of not condemning the hulls of vessels found acting contrary to law. But it is as well to leave you to do this verbally, or any other way you think best. So long as the hulls are protected, the owners of pirate vessels lose nothing. But as they have condemned the hull of one of the Ionians, we have a right to claim similar judgment against Greeks. I shall think ill of Mavromicali if he suffers Fabvier to get possession of Napoli, even under Haideck's request. Surely of the two, Church must be the preferable one: and where have we any others but the fellows now there, to maintain the fortress?

10 P.M.

The 'Alacrity' brought me, amongst other things from Adam, 'The Times' of the 12th July, which contains the Treaty, and which I therefore send to you. How the deuce

they got it I can't guess. Perhaps you may be able, by having it thus publicly given in our newspapers, to prepare our friends to give a speedy and satisfactory reply whenever the question of their assent is put. They should be aware that though either party object, the Allies will act as they think right; and therefore they had better do it with a good grace. The temporary sovereignty (suzerainté) of the Turks would gradually wear away; and this nominal power may reconcile the Sultan to the measure at once, if at once accorded by the Greeks. I conclude Capo d'Istria is well on his way towards Greece at this time. Spencer and Ingestrie are on their cruise about Volo. Something must be done at Samos to recover payment for the barefaced plundering practised there. Have the Greek Government any objection to our levying a contribution there to the amount of the robberies? We shall be obliged to do the same on the towns of Maina, for I hear the chief people of those towns own the pirate vessels. You may tell Mavromicali that unless vessels are condemned when found guilty, we must destroy all we suspect at once, at the risk, as I have already told them by letter, of sometimes injuring the innocent. The transport is here with all but gunner's stores, of which she has none. Our vessels must send their demands in anticipation of their wants at the time their supplies may be expected to arrive. Gunners' stores they must get from any others going down to Malta. I expected 'Seringapatam' before this time. Davis is re-fitting at Smyrna, where 'Rifleman' will go to-morrow to get caulked, as 'Asia' must do before the rains come on, or we shall all be swamped. As I cannot run over to you just now, lest I should miss Mr. S. C.'s communications at this critical juncture, I should like your coming to me if you find you can be so spared for the moment. But of course it must depend upon circumstances where you are. Lord Granville, in consequence of hearing your opinion of the French conduct at Athens, has written through Hamilton* his confidence in their sincerity, as he has seen their despatches. They can hardly, now at all events, pursue an intrigue against the treaty to which they are become parties. I will send you my latest 'Galignanis' as well as this very interesting one of 'The Times.' Upon the whole I think it best to send you my letter about the 'Nemesis,' which you will present or not as you judge fit.

Yours, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

* Captain Hamilton, H.M.S. 'Cambrian

From Sir E. C. to the Persons exercising the Functions of Government in Greece.

H.B.M. Ship 'Asia,' at Vourla: August 8, 1827.

GENTLEMEN,—Although the affair which I am going to mention to you has not reached me in an official shape, it is so important that I wish you to know it as soon as possible, that you may take measures for preventing the ill effects likely to arise from it. His Excellency Sir Frederick Adam has heard 'that two Ionian guarda costas had got Cipriotti, the noted pirate, into a position from which he could not escape, when the Greek brig of war "Nemesis" arrived and took the pirate and his crew under his protection and would not give them up.' If this be true, it is probable that some of the English cruisers in those seas have already taken possession of the 'Nemesis' and raised the blockade: and if not, I shall direct her being seized whenever and wherever she can be got hold of, in order that justice may be done for such a combination of injury and insult. If the Greek vessels of war thus abet the pirates whom it is their first duty to destroy, they are our worst enemies, and I am no longer surprised at hearing that the coast of Maina swarms with such depredators. These pirates are said to be encouraged by the inhabitants of the towns on that coast, who share in their plunder. It will therefore become necessary to make them responsible for it, and to levy contributions fully equal to the loss sustained. But consider, Gentlemen, what a disgrace it will be in the eyes of all Europe for Greece to have been systematically robbing the subjects of those nations which have been exerting their utmost in the meantime to establish its independence. I have frequently pointed out to you lately how much you were in want of union amongst yourselves. Let not those nations who take so lively an interest in your welfare have to say that Greece is still more in want of that common honesty without which independence will be of no use to her.

I have, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From Sir E. C. to Mr. S. Canning at Constantinople.

'Asia,' at Vourla, near Smyrna: August 9, 1827.

SIR,—I received your letter marked private and secret and dated August 3, with the important documents accompanying it, at 2 A.M. on the 7th, and the 'Racer,' cutter sailed at 8 A.M. with your letter to Alexandria. On the evening of the

7th the 'Alacrity' brig brought me a letter for you from Sir F. Adam, with two others, and communications to me which he justly thought might be of great importance, if the Treaty should not have reached your hands. The messenger who brought his despatches and those for General Ponsonby, did not convey any official account of the Treaty; but he did bring a regular copy of it in 'The Times' newspaper of July 12, as it is probable your messenger did also. This newspaper I have sent to Captain Hamilton, who may perhaps turn it to good account, by preparing the Turks for giving a ready assent to it when the question may be formally put to them. Sir F. Adam says, there were several other copies of the paper at Corfu; that all the bells were set ringing in consequence, and that he had some difficulty in stopping that public ebullition of joy. I have no other instruction or information officially on this important subject, than that received from you in these documents. But as I have told you that I would not *willingly* take Monsieur De Rigny under my orders, because I had not power to enforce obedience, I must now assure you, that no such feeling shall interfere in the least with my best exertions to carry the intentions of my Government into perfect execution, without allowing any symptoms of a want of confidence in my colleagues to intrude themselves. Last night I received by the 'Seringapatam' letters from Captain Hamilton, of the importance of which you will judge by the accompanying copies.

That the situation of affairs at Napoli is unfortunate at this critical moment, there is no doubt; but not less so appears to me the conduct of the Austrian Admiral. I have thought it best to send you the original Greek letters on this subject at once, without getting them translated, for the reasons given by Captain Hamilton; but you will oblige me with a translation of them when convenient.

According to the latest 'Galignani's Messengers,' Count Capo d'Istrias must be now well on his way back to Greece; and it appears to me that his presence may effect a cessation of the troubles at Napoli, which those hostile to the Treaty will make the most of. Fearing their continuance, I was about to run over to that place myself for a day, when I was stopped by your last despatches. Under present circumstances, I shall not move from these parts unless you express a wish for my doing so. I find this place more cool and quiet than Smyrna, where the visits and perpetual complaints of piracies, convoys, &c., distract my mind from the now more important part of my duties: but your letters will

reach me nearly as soon as if I were off the town of Smyrna itself. When the time is come for me to enter into regular intercourse with Monsieur De Rigny, I shall close nearer to him, and the state of parties in Greece, the possibility of the Alexandria fleet going out, and the apparent intrigues which prevail, make me very anxious for that time. I hope the newspaper I have sent may stop these intrigues, by showing they will no longer avail; but it would be useful in any case, your giving such insight as you can into the springs which guide these different parties, by the time I am brought more regularly in contact with them.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

Sir E. C. to Captain W. Codrington in England.

'Asia,' Smyrna: August 9, 1827.

I wish very much, my dear W., I had you with me, because affairs are getting very interesting, and I might make you of some use to me. I have just sent off one of Adam's aides-de-camp who was upon leave on a cruise, with the despatches to Constantinople, a job which I should with more pleasure have given you. 'The Times' of July 12 will have made you and the rest of the world acquainted with the Treaty, including a secret article which appears to have been only completed on that day. A messenger who brought despatches for Adam and for Ponsonby brought several of these papers; and yet not a line upon the subject to either of the above persons, or, what is more to the point, to me who will have to act upon it, from any official person. I fear the reinforcements which the newspapers announce as coming to me and my colleagues that are to be, will be tardy in their arrival; whereas if they were to come as the Lisbon force did, it would have a similar good effect upon our barbarian belligerents here. The same squabbles continue to distract the town of Nauplia (or Napoli di Romania), although there has been no firing since I left it. There is scarcely one of the principals, whether native or Philhellene, whose conduct has not excited suspicion of his being actuated by sinister motives of some sort. Colonel Haideck seems to have allied himself with Fabvier, of whom the public papers have made it unnecessary for me to say much. He swears he won't serve under Church and will send in his resignation; but when told that in such case his resignation will be accepted, he goes away to Methara, a fortress of his own which he holds independently of everybody, near Poros, saying he will continue to serve. And Colonel Haideck, who, in con-

nection with a Dr. Bailey, in the French interest, has the command of the German Philhellene purse, gives him provisions and refuses them to Church, whom the Government have, or rather the nation have, appointed General-in-Chief. Altogether, a plain man does not know how to steer by them. God knows we have nothing but evils to contend with; but the jealousies and quarrels of the Greeks themselves, and the total want of principle of their chiefs, is the worst of all in respect of establishing their independence. As to my situation, it is difficult to conceive the torments attending on it. Piracy in all its different shapes daily increasing in violence and in extent; a clamour for convoy to deceive insurers, by fellows who do all they can to get away without it, by which piracy is fed and encouraged; a traffic in plundered goods carried on by Ionian vessels, which act also as pirates as opportunity offers; and the Greek authorities, knowing that most of the principal people amongst them are owners of pirate vessels, afraid or ashamed to do what is requisite towards its suppression. Thus, in the midst of the more important consideration of the Treaty, I am daily assailed by prayers for redress which my limited means will not admit of my attending to. Yesterday I found out an old ruined bridge near Vourla which might delight an antiquary; but being in a country where tyranny has always created misery, and lying, and treachery, and cruelty, I have no reverence for any part of it. The Greeks and Turks are more attached to their vices than to their country, and therefore I feel no attachment to either. I will, however, do my best to make both better: and if I had the power of punishing delinquency, I should be very sanguine of success. The Greeks have continued the same cruel treacherous people, since the times described by Mitford; as if their mountains being barren of vegetation were the cause of their minds being barren of virtue. Such, however, being the effect, whatever be the cause, I reverence neither one nor the other.

August 11.

Yesterday I received the Treaty officially and in due form from my own master. At the time it reached me the 'Asia' was on shore: but she is no otherwise the worse for it than having lost some of her false keel; and I do not think any blame attaches to either master or pilot on account of it. Accidents will happen in such unsurveyed places. I have certainly a heavy load of responsibility and of hard work on my hands; but I trust I shall find health, strength, and nerves to stand it. Our dear Hal is keeping lieutenant's

watch in 'Philomel' on a cruise; but I think I must now get him back to write my private letters for me. I wish much you were here also to help me through foreign communications.

God bless you,

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

Sir E. C. to Lord Dudley.

H.M.S. 'Asia,' Smyrna: August 10 and 11, 1827.

Although when you and I last met, my dear lord, neither of us, I believe, expected that we should have been so soon brought into official contact, I may be permitted to rejoice in such a consequence having arisen out of the late changes. The latest debates which have reached us show that secrets will escape sooner or later; and it is said that Talleyrand or Fouché told Buonaparte that none of the secrets of his office could be insured for forty days. But still we must be surprised at 'The Times' of the 12th July containing not only the Treaty, but the secret article attached to it. However, having received this said paper on the seventh of this month from Sir F. Adam, I sent it off immediately to Captain Hamilton, at Napoli di Romania, for him to see if he cannot, through the information it contains, bring the parties there in hostility to each other, to make a sacrifice of their jealousies at this important moment to the general good of their country. I thought I had brought them to this temper of mind before I came from thence to meet Mr. S. Canning's despatches; but it seems that, in spite of their promises, things remain nearly in the same state, short, however, of that open cannonading hostility which had done so much mischief to the unoffending inhabitants. Mr. S. Canning, to whom I have sent the documents, will probably inform you more at length of the Austrian Admiral having, as it would seem, both unjustly and unnecessarily, fired upon the shipping and the town of Spezzia, to the destruction even of women and children. Whatever may have been his motives, I fear the consequences of this conduct will have an injurious effect in more ways than one. His reported declaration of the allies having no intention to do anything in the cause of Greece, will be blown to nothing by the contents of 'The Times' newspaper which I have sent, being circulated. But he will find, I suspect, that the Spezziotes will avenge themselves on the commerce of his country. Already the Greek cruisers have searched Austrian convoys, in spite of their vessels of war; and I shall not now be surprised at their treating t

Admiral himself with very little ceremony. In either case we have now a fresh difficulty thrown in our way, when God knows we had already more than sufficient. My firm opinion is, that the Greeks will gladly accept the allied offer at once, that the Pacha of Egypt will as gladly grasp at any excuse for keeping the fleet at Alexandria, and for retiring altogether from the contest which has disappointed his expectations; and that the Turks, or rather the Sultan, will at last yield to circumstances—I was going to say with what grace he may, but more probably without any grace at all. I have not a line from my master, or either of his council, and shall perhaps be taught to look to you as my Lord High Admiral on the present occasion. To you, therefore, I express my hope that we may have such a reinforcement as will produce the same astounding effect on parties here as was lately produced at Lisbon, by that bold and decisive measure which excited such universal admiration of the energy of Great Britain. But admitting that both Turks and Greeks assent to the armistice, and that all goes on smoothly to the desired consummation, you are aware that we shall still have a work to perform of no trifling consequence in itself, and encumbered with difficulties of no ordinary nature. Samos, where the revolt first began, is now the seat of most extensive piracy, and Carabusa and some other places set us at defiance. The Governors of these places tell us their power is not equal to that of the pirates, and therefore they cannot give us redress; and even the Greek Government itself dare not, or will not, attempt to interfere with the persons who are said to patronise these robberies and to share in the plunder. May I not levy contributions equal to the loss from such towns as actually receive the goods, and whose inhabitants, women and all, bring down carts for the purpose? Carabusa or Grabusa must be blockaded until the pirates are starved out; and yet we shall have difficulties insurmountable in proving the robberies, and even murders, which have been committed by that infernal horde, which have actually fired upon our vessels of war when chasing their vessels under the batteries.

August 11.

I received last night the order of the Lord High Admiral about the Treaty, with all the necessary documents from your office; and I therefore shall now put myself into communication with Admiral de Rigny, and be ready to act whenever I learn from Mr. S. Canning, according to his last letter to me, that things are sufficiently advanced at Constantinople for us to make our communication to the Greeks. A

letter from the Lord High Admiral, of June 20, desires me to assemble the ships at Corfu. His subsequent order to conduct myself according to your arrangements, seems, of itself, a sufficient contradiction of this, because those arrangements imply a position of more speedy communication with Mr. S. Canning. But I have nevertheless informed His Royal Highness that, instead of Corfu, I intend making this bay, or rather the gulf, my rendezvous; and that I have accordingly directed all reinforcements to join me here. It is not easy for me to anticipate exactly what may be agreed upon by us jointly; but I may as well tell you that, if circumstances require that the three squadrons should act separately, I shall endeavour to arrange it so that the French shall watch Alexandria, the Russians the Dardanelles, and that I should take the one least agreeable, but where I think I can be most useful, the coast of Greece. One point more I may mention to you, *en ami*, that although I may consider the French as 'our natural enemies,' I shall show all possible cordiality with them or with our other colleagues.

Yours, my dear lord, very sincerely,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From Sir E. C. to Sir Frederick Adam.

(*Secret.*)

Vourla: Saturday, August 11, 1827.

No doubt the second instruction to the Commanders-in-Chief is full of difficulty, and our utmost endeavours may fail in executing it properly. Indeed, our masters, by the time it has occupied them, have not found any part of it easy, and therefore I hope they will make allowance for us. But I see difficulties, even in case of perfect success, in all the preliminaries, which almost exclude the hope of outliving a satisfactory termination. Whatever may have been done heretofore, my colleagues cannot now act but fairly and openly with me. But all the opinions at home will not satisfy people here of such having heretofore been the case, although it might not be known to the French Government. Some secret instructions about marbles, such as I myself have, may have led to a line of conduct in people who considered resistance of no further use, which would seem treacherous in the eyes of those who thought resistance would be success. The Austrian Admiral told Hamilton that the Seraschier has observed to him that the Acropolis would not have been got without money, which he, ——, thinks was received by some of the Greek chiefs.

From Admiral De Rigny to Sir E. C.

Smirne: Sirène, le 11 août 1827.

MONS. L'AMIRAL,—Je reçois à l'instant un courrier qui m'apporte une dépêche de S. E. le Comte Guilleminot, dont je suis informé que vous recevrez une expédition, par les soins de S. E. Mr. S. Canning. J'ai également la copie de celle que par la même occasion vous adresse l'ambassadeur de S. M. B.

Ayant appris que le vaisseau 'l'Asia" est retenu à Vourla par un accident, j'ai l'honneur de vous informer que je compte me rendre demain à Vourla pour conférer avec V. E. sur l'objet dont il est question. Je viens de recevoir l'avis du capitaine de la frégate de S. M. 'l'Armide,' en croisière près du Cap Matapan, qu'une flotte turque de 16 voiles, dont 3 brigs, paraissent venir d'Alexandrie, se dirigeant sur Navarin; le 6 août, elle était 10 m. dans l'orient de Cérigo, le 9 août 'l'Armide' a rencontré la frégate de Cochrane, conduisant à la remorque une corvette turque captivée et portant 300 hommes, en outre de son équipage.

Je n'ai pu avoir la certitude que la flotte aperçue appartient à Méhémet Ali. Mais j'ai lieu de croire, d'après des avis venus d'Égypte, que ce serait la division turque qui se trouvait à Alexandrie.

Telle qu'elle soit, Mons. l'Amiral, elle est à la mer, et c'est à elle que s'applique plus spécialement, ainsi qu'aux flottes grecques, l'intention des ambassadeurs, développée dans les lettres qui nous sont adressées en commun. Je saisis cette première occasion, pour me féliciter d'avoir à établir avec V. E. des relations plus resserrées; et je me flatte, Mons. l'Amiral, que vous verrez dans la franchise de mes communications l'intérêt que je mets, à ce que le but si heureusement préparé par nos gouvernemens respectifs soit atteint le plus promptement possible.

Je suis, etc.,
Le Contre-Amiral com[t] la division française
en Levant,
H. DE RIGNY.

Sir E. C. to Admiral De Rigny.

'Asia,' at Vourla: August 11, 1827.

I was about to inform your Excellency that I had at last received in a regular official form the documents necessary for my putting myself in direct communication with you,

when I had the honour of receiving your Excellency's letter of this day's date by the hands of M. de Vaillant. If circumstances should enable you to fulfil your intention of coming here to-morrow, it is now too late to save you that trouble; and our being in this retired anchorage will enable us, perhaps, to discuss more satisfactorily to ourselves the important subject to which our attention is directed. On this occasion I need only add that I am fully sensible how much depends upon our acting in concert and concord with each other, that I have an anxious desire to conduct myself towards you according to that sentiment, and the firmest confidence that I shall find in your Excellency a perfect reciprocity of feeling.

I have, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

Mr. S. Canning to Sir E. C.

(Confidential.)

Constantinople: August 8, 1827.

SIR,--This letter and the accompanying packet are to be conveyed to Smyrna by a messenger sent thither by His Excellency the French Ambassador. Although I am myself in possession of the Treaty, and instructions prepared in common for its execution, there seems but too much reason to fear that I shall not be able to act upon them for several weeks to come. I have invited my French and Russian colleagues to open the business at once, but they prefer waiting (as is natural enough) for direct communication from their own respective courts. Such communications ought to reach both of them in the course of eight or ten days at the latest. The French ambassador, however, thinks that his court will wait for the exchange of the ratifications which would take us to the middle, perhaps even to the end, of September. I sincerely hope that this apprehension may not be realised, on account of the critical state of affairs in the Archipelago. I must presume that it will not be, in consequence of my being already empowered to act upon the Treaty by His Majesty's Government. It is true, at the same time, that the first article of the Treaty states that the declaration is to be made by us to the Porte immediately after the *ratification*. There is also doubt as to the time which will be allowed to the Porte before the second declaration, that which will lead immediately to the interference of the squadrons, shall be given in. It may be a month, it may be a fortnight. There is another most important question on which I am anxious to

give you the earliest information—I mean the probable determination of the Porte upon our renewed proposals. Appearances are at present entirely in favour of a refusal. As our declarations are to be accompanied with assurances as to the pacific views of our courts, I am not at all inclined to give in to the prevailing apprehensions of the Sultan's resorting to violent measures. If he resorts to them at all, I feel convinced that he will not do so until an actual collision shall have taken place between his squadron and those of the Allied Powers. How far this may be likely will be best judged of when the term to be allowed by our first declaration shall have expired.

You will readily understand my motive for sending you the Russian envoy's letter on the subject of your proposed communication with the belligerent squadrons. It is particularly desirable, and specially enjoined by His Majesty's Government, that the representatives of the three Powers should act and show that they act upon the same line. We are under the impression that the Egyptian expedition is already at sea, or that it will be by the time you receive this letter. If not, there are strong grounds for presuming that it will not leave Alexandria at all.

I enclose a newspaper containing a copy of the Treaty, as it has unfortunately been published by some unaccountable breach of confidence. This document, with my present correspondence and the papers which I have already had the honour of forwarding to you *in the strictest confidence and secresy*, will enable you to form a complete idea of my position here.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
STRATFORD CANNING.

Sir E. C. to Mr. S. Canning.

Vourla: August 11, 1827, 9 P.M.

SIR,—I have just received your Excellency's letter of the 8th of this month, in which you inform me of there being a probability of delays, which I fear will greatly militate against the success we might otherwise expect in fulfilling the wishes of our Government. We know that a division of Turkish ships was off Matapan on the 7th, and that Lord Cochrane had a corvette prize in tow on the 9th. But whether they were a part of the fleet from Alexandria we do not yet know. 'L'Armide,' French frigate, reports them to amount to sixteen sail. Mr. Talbot, of the yacht 'Galatea,' counted only thirteen, of which *one* only was of the line. Now there were *two* Turkish ships-of-the-line at Alexandria,

and if any of the Turkish division had quitted that port, it is probable the others would not remain or willingly be separated; and I am therefore inclined to think it is the division from Navarin. My last letter will have shown you that I took advantage of the publication of the Treaty in 'The Times' newspaper, to anticipate the wish expressed in your letter of the 7th, as far as that circumstance admitted of it. My conduct henceforth must have the sanction of my colleagues. But if M. De Rigny agree with me in opinion, I shall gladly direct a communication of this event to be made by Captain Hamilton to Ibrahim Pacha, or proceed with it myself; for he is probably aware of the Pacha of Egypt's desire to withdraw from the contest, and may readily profit by this publicity of the Treaty for so doing himself. Last night I received from the Lord High Admiral, by a messenger to Corfu, copies of the Treaty and other documents, with his Royal Highness's order to act on them. And I also received from Sir F. Adam information that Major Cradock had arrived from England at Corfu on the 30th July, in twelve days, and was gone on to Egypt in his Majesty's sloop 'Pelican,' on a special mission, the subject of which is to obtain at once the neutrality of Mehemet Ali. From thence he is to come here; and either by him or by the cutter which I send with your letter, we shall shortly know the result of his mission, and be able to guide ourselves accordingly. If Mehemet should boldly avow his secession, the Sultan surely will see the danger in which his forces must be placed, and find a more ready excuse to himself for withdrawing them under guarantee of the Allies. On the other alternative I will not venture to speculate at present. In this reply to a *confidential* letter from you, and previously to my having opened my communications with Admiral De Rigny, I may ask you if henceforth I am to forbid myself from all communications of this sort to you without first making him privy to them. You will see how natural it is that I should be guided by your instructions in this particular line of my future conduct. Another point in which I wish to be instructed, is, whether or not we may guarantee the retirement of any of the belligerent forces as far as we have power to do so, if they should propose to withdraw themselves from the contest; and if we may not in such case stipulate for the non-injury of Athens, or, at all events, for the security of the works of art still remaining there.

August 12, 6 P.M.

I have just finished a two hours' conversation with Admiral

De Rigny. He has not yet received his despatches, which are coming in one of the ships from Toulon, which is to communicate with the squadron off Algiers on the way here. He suggests that our reinforcements should not be seen until they can be shown in united force; but I observed that this should depend upon your opinion at Constantinople, where it may be useful to say such and such additional ships are already arrived, in order to expedite the Turkish decision. However, you will be informed on this subject as they may arrive, although we place them at Paros or Skyros, and can act as you see best in it. We agree in the propriety of sending a vessel of each of our two nations to communicate verbally at Navarin and to the fleet as you suggest, without committing anything to paper or as if by direct authority. I have lent Admiral De Rigny the Treaty and other documents which came to me from the Lord High Admiral, that he may digest them in readiness for our further discussion of them to-morrow. He *let out* that he had seen the Treaty, but the documents respecting the line of conduct which we are to pursue he certainly knew nothing of.

Neither of us can make out how we are by force to prevent the Turks, if obstinate, from pursuing any line of conduct which we are instructed to oppose, without committing hostility. Surely it must be like a blockade; if an attempt be made to force it, by force only can that attempt be resisted.* But I see your letter, and also the second instruction, contemplates a collision between the Sultan's squadron and those of the Allies as a possible case. I should, however, but for your having a contrary opinion, have imagined that the first consequences of such a collision would be his taking up a more moderate tone, in order not to put in jeopardy that fleet and that army upon which his personal safety would seem to depend. I trust your Excellency will not consider it an intrusion, my thus freely offering my sentiments upon a subject in which by duty no less than by inclination my mind never ceases to dwell. I still hope, however, that the Turkish commanders will not put us to such an extremity, seeing how powerless they must be in enforcing measures to which we oppose ourselves. The subject presents difficulties in whichever way we look at it, as

* This was answered by Mr. S. Canning on August 19—that some of Sir E. C.'s questions must be talked over with his colleagues; that the true meaning of the second instruction under the Treaty is, that we mean to enforce, by cannon shot, if necessary, the armistice which is the object of the Treaty: the object being to interpose the Allied Forces, and to keep the peace by the speaking-trumpet if possible; but in case of necessity, by force.

such a business necessarily must, although there is so much admirable precaution in all the arrangements. But there is one which appears to me peculiarly difficult in accomplishment from the character of the materials. I allude to the meeting of the Turkish and Greek plenipotentiaries. First, we shall find party feeling stand in the way of the very nomination of the latter; and, secondly, I have very little hope of claims and pretensions so discordant being ever brought to amalgamate. If, indeed, each of these bodies were to plead their several causes, as it were, to the plenipotentiaries of the Allied Powers, and they were to judge and decide on the result, I should have sanguine hopes of a more speedy as well as more satisfactory decision.

Monday, August 13, Noon.

I am just returned from a visit to M. De Rigny. You are aware that the first instruction, and which I am now in possession of officially, directs me to communicate the whole to my colleagues immediately, and then directs us to agree in what manner intimation is to be given to the Greek Government of the mission entrusted to us, which is exactly accordant with your letter of the 7th. M. De Rigny and I have, therefore, decided on going over to the Greek coast, and giving this intimation through Captain Hamilton and some other officer of his, being ourselves ready to take any further proceedings we may find necessary. The instruction goes on to say we are then to address to that Commission the declaration, &c. We do not, however, propose doing this until we hear further from you as to your proceedings with the Ottoman Government, which we believe to be what you wish. If the Greek Government should require an assembly of the people, we shall propose their doing so at once, upon account of the publicity of the whole in the newspapers, without waiting for deputies from Candia or other distant places. We intend giving this information to Ibrahim directly, as soon as we know where he is, and Admiral De Rigny's personal communications with Mehemet have given us the means of reckoning that he will act in this affair as we could wish. But from the Admiral's knowledge of the character of the Seraskier, and our joint persuasion that he is not in the way of doing much just now, and might be led to commit excesses in consequence of the Treaty, we think it better to withhold such personal communication for the present from him. There is only one other point which it occurs to me to touch on in this letter, and that is the practice of Austrian vessels in carrying Turkish property. If

this system be permitted, and particularly if vessels under the Austrian flag are to be protected when so loaded, against trial or even examination, whilst English vessels are exposed to search and sometimes to consequent plunder, it will be no less unfair than injurious to the three Allied Powers who are endeavouring to establish a better state of things by which Austria herself will benefit probably more than either. I should add to this that Admiral De Rigny and myself think that the authority of M. de Ribeaupierre fully justifies our using the name of our colleague jointly with our own, without waiting for his arrival.

I have, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

P.S. We may possibly make Milo the rendezvous, and use Paros for watering.

Sir E. C. to Lady C.

Vourla: August 11.

It is *hard upon me* to have opportunities come so quick in succession; but I cannot allow one to escape without telling you that I hope I have health, strength, and nerves for the responsibility and the mass of work which this Treaty brings upon me. I have now received it officially from my own master, Duke of Clarence, by his son, who found the 'Asia' aground. 'Poor Smith'!* say you. But she has only lost a little of her false keel, without other damage; and neither Smith nor pilot to blame, as I have told the Lord High Admiral. I came back here to complete the water we started, and then shall go to Smyrna to talk over with De Rigny all we have jointly to undertake. I suspect the Russians will not arrive until the work is done in part; nor perhaps the 'Genoa' and 'Albion,' coming to me from Lisbon. I think the Turks *will* not because they *cannot* refuse our interposition; that the Pacha of Egypt will secede at all events, and not send the fleet to sea; and that the Turkish army must therefore retire 'par la force des circonstances.' But our greatest difficulty will arise out of success in getting both parties to assent: for how then to adjust their demands, will be the difficulty; and how to make the Greeks agree amongst themselves to what is decided for them to do. It is upon the whole a most complex business; and it is very difficult to *speculate* even upon what is to be the result.

11 P.M.

I am so *told out* by contemplating a fresh batch of de-

* Master of the 'Asia.'

spatches which reached me this evening, or rather night, from Mr. S. Canning, and M. De Rigny who is coming here to open official intercourse with me to-morrow—that I can only add that I wish I had you now here as my Foreign Secretary. E. C.

From Sir F. Adam to Sir E. C.*

Corfu: August 9, 1827.

My dear Codrington,—You will ere this time know that Lord Cochrane on the 1st took a Turkish corvette and schooner 'Scorffes.' The action lasted upwards of an hour, and the Turk behaved well; the fight was distinctly seen from Zante. Lord Cochrane's principal object, however, I have reason to believe, is to aid and assist the fresh rising in arms which is contemplated and ready to burst out in western Greece—with a view of course of having that territory included within the limits to be fixed. I expect this rising may take place any day; I also have reason to think that in Chimara and some other districts of Albania opposite this island risings are not improbable. This is one effect of the publication of the Treaty—these probable effects are too near me not to give me some anxiety, and I shall be very glad to see the ships back again.

Always yours truly,

Fredk. Adam.

From Sir E. C. to the persons exercising the functions of Government in Greece.

'Asia,' at Vourla: August 12, 1827.

Gentlemen,—I am informed that the Candiotes in the island of Milo have not only carried on the system of plunder which has long prevailed there, but have in cold blood even, murdered some Turks who were proceeding to the French Consulate to give evidence. In the name of common humanity I entreat that you will take measures for putting a stop to such horrible proceedings. Surely, Gentlemen, these ruffians being actually Candiotes and therefore subjects of Turkey, it would become you as a Government (whom by their defiance of your orders they prove that they do not acknowledge), to have them sent back to the Bey of Candia. Under present circumstances you are leaving the peaceful inhabitants of Milo at the mercy of a set of lawless desperados.

I am, &c.,

Edwd. Codrington.

* Governor of Ionian Islands.

Sir E. C. to Lady C.

Vourla: August 13.

De Rigny and I are now in full confidence, by desire of our superiors, and I have no reason to doubt our going on throughout very well together. He is gentlemanlike, clever, and well-informed upon this subject, to which his attention has been given these five years. What the Russian may turn out to be when he comes, I know not; but we think we have sufficient authority for using his name with ours in the meantime. I fancy there will be three ships of the line of each nation, besides frigates, &c. I cannot be under either of my colleagues, whether they may be under me or not. In our diplomacy we are all equal. Fane* writes 'how happy you must be in seeing the "Asia" proudly riding amongst the flags and pendants of so many different nations! I quite envy you'! I am not quite sure, however, that any man would envy me if he knew all the difficulties he would have to contend with. But, as I have before told you, I think I see my way through it, and imagine I discern much good in the distance; which will always make me look back to it with satisfaction, whatever credit may arise out of it to me personally. On this latter point, experience has taught me not to place reliance: my business is only to take care to deserve it.

August 14.

Here we are in the middle of August, with work before us for a longer time than I like to contemplate. So soon as sufficient wind comes we shall move to an anchorage at the outer part of this gulf (Vourla) for freer air, until my French colleague joins me, and to prevent any ships passing in the night and going up to Smyrna (20 miles further) in search of me.

August 16.

Admiral De Rigny joined me at Vourla on the 12th and dined with me on the 13th; this latter process having certainly upon his nation as well as ours, the effect of *amalgamation*.

August 16, 1827.

Ipsara—or Ypsara—or Psara, — for we know not how to give the Greek sounds, is an example not only of Turkish

* General Sir Henry Fane.

barbarity, but of Greek heroism. This island in revolting, followed the example of Spezzia and Hydra, in the year 1821. It contained 12,000 of its own population and about 6,000 refugees from Scio, &c.; and followed the above two islands in trading strength. In July, 1824, the Captain Pacha with 30,000 men, and 70 sail of vessels-of-war, effected a landing and pressed forward to the town and castle. After two separate repulses the Greeks were overpowered by a third attack on the castle, to which they had retired. Numberless women, after throwing their children over the walls into the sea, threw themselves after them, to avoid the scimitars of the Pacha who vowed he would not take one alive! About 700 remaining in the castle, who saw no means of resistance, amongst whom were both women and children, were by general consent all blown up together by setting fire to the magazine! The Pacha then went himself to Mitylene to water, leaving a small force behind him. The Greeks from Hydra and Spezzia, with such Ipsariots as had escaped, shortly retook possession of the island, destroying the Turkish force left there. They then carried off all the guns, provisions, &c., which the Turks had left there, and deserted the island altogether: and thus it still remains, a monument of that excessive barbarity which has distinguished the reign of this Sultan even amongst his cruel predecessors.

August 17.

We are now at Nauplia and the thermometer in my cabin is at 90. Admiral De Rigny and myself were anchored here last night, and have this morning had a conversation with some of the Greeks about the Treaty; the news of which reached them first from Zante, and before Hamilton received 'The Times' * from me. I take up my pen to you by way of relief; but the subject of this Treaty, and the difficulties and consequences which attend it, are so all-absorbing that I cannot get away from it.

From Sir E. C. to Sir Frederick Adam.

Nauplia: August 20, 1827.

I have a present of a very worthy Ionian subject for you, now in the 'Seringapatam,' my dear Adam, with the documents necessary for elucidating his history since he came away from your former acquaintance with him. I know not when he may reach you, but he will in the meantime be out

* *The Times* of July 12, containing the Treaty of July

of harm's way where he is, and I hope you will be able to neutralise his future efforts. Nothing can more fully exemplify the miserable condition of the islands and the necessity of the Treaty, than the power of such a wretch as this to overawe a whole community. At Milo things are in a still worse state. The Candiotes assembled there killed one Turk and wounded another on their way to our Vice-Consul's to depose to the sum for which they were ransomed by an Ionian forced into that service by the Bashaw of Candia. 'Seringapatam' has orders to convey Turks and the vessel to Candia, to recover the ransom money and the Ionian hostage, and to complain strongly of the injury and insult offered to your flag by the said Bashaw. The Greek Government are about to remove to Egina, or more probably Paros, as the arrangements about this place are apparently settled. But Church tells me he cannot move back to Corinth (the first step in this business) for want of provisions: his 2,000 men with which he came here against his will, by order of the Government, not having had even bread supplied to them for five days. In fact, the Government has not the money to procure it; and yet De Rigny wants them to give up an Austrian loaded with wood, &c., for shipbuilding, for Alexandria, when her cargo affords the only means of enabling the army to make this required movement. I do not second this overstrained compliment to the non-neutral nation of Dandolo, who would only attribute it to fear arising out of his late extraordinary proceeding. In the meantime what would be said of my quietly looking on whilst English and Ionians were condemned for the same traffic? Of course Lord Granville will join in my conclusion, or rather, I in his, that my colleague can have no sinister object in this! Such is the assurance I give at our meetings here to all around me; and I add my reason, that the Treaty itself admits of none but the single straightforward course pointed out by our superiors. My doctrine and my practice very well agree, because I heretofore pursued no other, nor has Hamilton: but my colleague *may have* much to clear away to get into the said straight road, and even then there may be some dirt sticking to the wheels, taken up in the by-lanes! Sometimes I am overcome by the difficulties I have to contemplate: sometimes I am quite *excédé* by the tiresome stuff which I find myself called upon to listen to; but at other times I laugh and chuckle at the arts and contrivances which I find others think it requisite to practise, in justification of conduct which they themselves disapprove. And I must own I indulge sometimes in a little saucy general observation on

right and wrong in these matters, to those who must wince at their own necessary echo of them. But for this latter I think I should die of *ennui*, particularly if —— were often to repeat his visit of yesterday evening. Oh, dear! if he is as slow and as dull in his military operations as in detailing his grievances, and if he is as hard put to it in beating the Turks as he was in persuading me that he is another Duke of Wellington, God help those whom he commands, as well as those who trust an army to his management. There will be a proclamation at the suggestion of De Rigny and myself put forth immediately, which will be forwarded to you, unless, indeed, De Rigny's eagerness to word it himself stand in the way of it. It is to call forth unanimity in the Greeks, as to assenting to the Treaty whenever regularly called upon to do so. De R. is trying, as he says, to check their leading the Greeks to expect too much; but his conversation shows his desire to confine the liberated spot to as little as possible. Accordingly he advises Church to resign at once, and attempt nothing more, as the armistice will be established immediately: and says he shall press the same on Fabvier.

C. would, I think, be wrong to obey him; and I on the contrary, say the Greeks should work hard to do all that is possible before the armistice take place. Is he right in giving such advice without first mentioning it to me? Now don't think by my telling you all this, that I am likely to get upon bad terms with him. Be assured we shall go on as smoothly as possible.

August 21, 6 A.M.

As I am going to Smyrna to give orders to the two ships of the line which have arrived there, or rather at Vourla, &c., &c., I think I shall leave this for Hamilton to forward to you with one for Lady C. De R. told me last night, just when going from hence to his own ship, that he had a letter from Guilleminot of August 12 telling him that the Austrian and Prussian Ambassadors were spiriting up the Sultan to resist the Treaty, and that he had ordered two more ships of the line to be fitted out. Mr. S. C. was then the only one of the three who had received his instructions, and they all kept quiet in consequence; perhaps it was thought they dared not act. I agree with Hamilton in doubting ——'s *talent* for diplomacy or anything else being as high as somehow it has been considered; and this may account for his diplomatic mysteries and awkward contradictions. The proclamation will be sent to you overland as the Government

have promised me. The thermometer here yesterday was 95°, and more in the 'Sirène's' cabin.

Yours, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

P.S. The Lisbon ships say the Constitution is overturned: we hear no particulars.

Sir E. C. to Lady C.

Monday morning, August 20.

I was fairly worried out last night; not so much by the quantity of matter and of discussion which I necessarily had to attend to; but by unnecessary impediments to real business, and by the many specimens of self being paramount to every other consideration. However, I need not tease you with particulars which it would be no relief for me to dwell upon: for this is not a case in which by making you a sharer in my grievances I can diminish my own load. I find a constitutional difficulty in listening to a detail of low-bred dishonesty, accompanied by cruelty in the execution and producing disastrous consequences, with the thermometer at 91° and the light sand thickening the air and irritating the eyelids.

August 21.

The temperature in this cabin has been 95° and in De Rigny's more.

From Sir E. C. to Lord Dudley.

H.M.S. 'Asia': August 23, 1827.

MY DEAR LORD,—I am now returning to Smyrna to meet Mr. S. Canning's despatches, after having jointly with Admiral De Rigny prepared the Greeks for the declaration which we are jointly to present to them shortly in a more official manner. We recommended a proclamation on the part of the Government, and enclosed you have a rough sketch of it. Admiral De Rigny came to me just as the Secretary of the Government and two other Greeks had come to me also; and we took the opportunity of opening our ideas to them at once. The Admiral seemed anxious to press the introduction of his opinions with more force than I thought requisite, although he seemed to yield to my suggestions of a rather contrary tendency. Upon breaking up the meeting, he said, if I had no objection, as we had come to the same conclusions, he would draw out upon

paper what he should propose, and would send it for my examination early in the morning, and we could afterwards offer it to the Greek Government. He did not, however, send it until he had himself, at a previous meeting with some of the members of the Government on board the 'Sirène,' (Mavrocordato and Count Laborde being present, as the former observes in his letter), pressed strongly its adoption. Upon his coming here in the evening, I merely said there were objections to it generally, and more particularly to the second paragraph; which in my opinion painted their condition as being worse than it really was, and in too abject terms to obtain assent if even their situation were worse. He then put it off, as if indifferent about it. I thought this explanation necessary to make you understand the meaning of M.'s letter. It seems that upon his thus pressing his own wording, the Commission did not show theirs either to him as they intended, or to me to whom they proposed coming afterwards with it. However, when he came to me in the evening, we agreed to send for the Commission, with their proposed proclamation; which brings you to the other part of M.'s letter referring to De Rigny's conduct. As the sketch was in French, he read it out to us, and certainly dwelt upon trifling objections, which, as it was to be published in Greek, seemed to me unnecessary, since he admitted that there was nothing in the substance contrary to our wishes, for the purpose of guarding against which alone we desired to be consulted on it. Captain Hamilton presented General —— to me in the evening preceding this (the 19th), who tired me with an account of himself, and led me to think he is not a second Wellington. The copy of a letter from H. to him will give you all that need be said on this part of his subject. From me he went to my colleague, who astonished H. by telling the General that 'as an armistice would take place immediately he had better give up his command at once, as he should advise Fabvier to do also.' Now, I don't know how far you may like all this history, which may be deemed, possibly, extra-official on my part. But I am doing by you as I should wish myself to be done by, at all events, in putting you as much 'au fait' as I can possibly do, as to what is going on here, and what may be expected. I should certainly be glad to learn if I am right in thus informing you of matters not contemplated in the instructions from you; which indeed are the only information I have to guide me, either from you or from the Lord High Admiral. In the meantime, I must say, I am somewhat led to this explanation by Lord Granville, and even Lord Gode-

rich also, writing to Sir F. Adam that they cannot believe there has been any intrigue going on. Captain H. could furnish you with plenty more instances of unaccountable conduct of this sort, the clue to which I leave to you or to them to unravel. But you need not adopt the fears which those noble Lords seem to have, that it will excite any unpleasant consequences in the conduct of either H. or myself towards him, in the performance of our duty. As I have observed to the Admiral himself, we have the Treaty to guide us, and our principal communications are worded for us, to avoid mistake or difficulty. And, although I certainly would prefer a more plain-sailing colleague, I dare say we shall chime in very well together. . . Now my good friend, you, like the temperature (95° of Fahrenheit), have drawn more out of me than is perhaps good for me to part with. But there it is, and I rely upon your only making a proper use of it: you and I too may shortly have better opportunities of forming a sound judgment. In M.'s letter you will see, that instead of becoming passive between the present time and the armistice, the Greeks look forward to some active operations. I shall be very glad if Lord C. obey the requests therein mentioned, because I have heard of his meditating another attempt at Alexandria. Since he may so act without first mentioning his intentions to his Government, I have said openly, that in the case of the Pacha of Egypt agreeing to retain his fleet in port at our suggestion, I shall consider it incumbent on me to protect it against any such attack. By his former visit there he obliged the Pacha to hasten the equipment for his own defence, of ships which we know he was purposely delaying. As I told the Greek Government in a letter complaining of his conduct in two or three instances, he was entrusted with a dangerous power; and I added that if he used it illegally towards British or Ionian subjects, I should make reprisals on the vessels under his orders. He after this proposed through Captain H. to wait on me; but I replied, that disapproving of his conduct, I would have no communication with him but through *his Government.* His observation was that 'it was exactly what he expected, but that he did not wish me to suppose him wanting in respect for me!' In the enclosed 'Abeille Grecque,' the affair of Spezzia, as to number of killed and wounded by ——'s disgraceful proceeding, is exaggerated, as well as the number of 'enceinte' women. But the account given by himself in the 'Spectateur oriental' is very much wider of the truth, although he wrote it.

He told De R. that he fired only three rockets; but as I

told De R., on showing him the shells of that very number now in my cabin, it would be singular if I should have the whole of them; in fact the Government have four others, and I have heard of more. De R. told me that Count Guilleminot, in a letter of the 12th to him, said that the Austrian and Prussian Ambassadors were working up the Porte to resistance of the Treaty. I know that their vessels are constantly employed carrying Turkish property and contraband of war: and if the Sultan refuses the Treaty, I wish to know if we are not authorised, and indeed bound, to stop this traffic. There are other questions which I should like to have answered by you *if you did not live some twenty days from my residence*: such as if the shutting up the Allied Ambassadors would not require our seizing the Turkish ships as hostages for their safety. But you will have had quite enough of me on the present occasion: and I suspect my arrival at Smyrna, to-morrow or next day, may make it my business to write to you of our returning this way to present the Declaration.

August 24.

As I have touched so much upon the conduct of my colleague, I am disposed to anticipate your wish that I should solve the difficult question of what motive he can have. Now, dating from the reception of the Treaty, I should say simply 'none;' because his duty as well as mine is therein clearly chalked out for him. But he has got to make out a case of consistency; and you as a Parliament man, have frequent evidence of people floundering in such cases. He is certainly not disposed towards the Greeks; but whether it is an individual feeling or originally instilled into him by the desire of his Government to be first in favour with Mehemet Ali, I know not: and he has strongly marked his opinion, which, by the way, I know he has pressed on Count Guilleminot—that the liberated portion of Greece should be confined to the Morea and the islands. In reasoning this point with me, he showed me that it had long been his opinion that if Greece were to be thus favoured, the less she had the better. I got rid of this by observing that, as we had plenty of difficulties of our own to contend against, it was fortunate for us that this matter would certainly be arranged by our superiors; that I could, however, see many objections to that limitation which might appear to our Governments; such as the identification in men's minds of Athens and Greece, and therefore the impossibility of stopping short of Attica: then the division of the Gulf of Lepanto (Corinth) in any way creating constant contention: and that these considerations might

make it necessary to let some chain of mountains further on become the barrier. *He* thought the Morea, by becoming the rallying point of all the freed Greeks, would be thinly peopled. I thought a wider range would keep the freed Greeks for a long period from the natural desire which a more dense population might feel, to advance beyond their boundary. But I again observed that, luckily, this very important point would be settled by others, and that we should only have to carry their orders into execution. Out of all this, which you may think unnecessary, you may draw your own conclusions. Let me assure you, however, that none of our differences in opinion will impede my pursuing the main object with all possible harmony; and that I will not see offence in things which he may do to me, which, thinking indelicate, I will not do towards him. I have prescribed a line for myself, which appears best calculated to effect the object of my Government, and consequently to ensure my own credit: and to this I shall steadily adhere, however tortuous may be the path of others. It is now high time I should say,

I am, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

Sir E. C. to Lady C.

August 23, 1827.

We were yesterday standing off and on from Hydra to Garden Bay. It was for an object of importance; and I rejoice in having recovered to a man his whole property which had been forcibly taken from him at Syra; having despatched the 'Rose' as I trust in time to prevent the plunder of that town by two boatloads of the scum of Hydra, amounting to 50 or 60 men who set out the preceding night, I feared being obliged to anchor; but by great exertion and decision on the part of Hamilton (of the 'Cambrian') we got our business done by dark. The night was calm, and all hands complained of being unable to sleep from the oppressiveness of the air, although the temperature was not above 84° or 85°. My own night was divided between an arm chair, the stern walk, and my cot in cabin; in each of which I was suspended betwixt sleep and painful oppression. In truth I had been overworked during the day by previous communication with the primates of Spezzia, and then of Hydra, when I wanted rest and quiet from the business at Nauplia in a temperature of 95° and a calm on the day preceding. However, here we are enjoying the surprise of a nice fair breeze through the Doro passage, where at this

season in general one might expect not only a foul wind but a lee current, for the currents in all parts of the Mediterranean follow the line of the wind.

Smyrna: 10 P.M.

There is a general opinion of my colleague having acted a different part from what the Treaty prescribes. Therefore he is looked on now with suspicion. Lords Granville and Goderich write through Adam in a way to put me off my guard, whilst Mr. Stratford Canning writes purposely to put me on my guard. The former, perhaps, think Hamilton and myself liable to show rough opposition in case of suspecting insincerity: the latter may have feared our colleague would be too much for us.

To you I say fear not, *we* shall do well whatever he may do. I am much disappointed by not finding despatches here from Mr. S. C. later than the 13th. I conclude they are on their road, as a merchant from Constantinople says it was considered certain that the note was presented, and that the Sultan was very wrathful and not at all disposed to give in. I hope this will prove so, because it will simplify our duty and facilitate the final arrangement. If both parties were to assent, I could not contemplate an end to the negotiations. In the other case the allies decide the matter themselves.

I cannot describe the comfort I derive from your being at the Lucca Baths, instead of being oppressed by the heat of Florence or Naples.

Yours, E. C.

It was very well for Admiral De Rigny, and well too for the service that had to be carried out, that Sir E. C. was able to keep himself from being unduly biassed against the French admiral, by all the warnings so earnestly placed before him, both privately and officially. No doubt the Admiral gave cause for the doubts expressed of his sincerity, by the apparent want of openness in his proceedings; but time and events proved the reality of his zealous co-operation in the service in hand, and his sincerity was proved by the loyal earnestness with which, when he saw his chief unjustly censured, he claimed to share with him the responsibility of their conjoint acts.

Sir E. C. to Captain W. C.

'Asia': August 24, 1827.

We are now becalmed off Scio, in our way to Smyrna, after privately communicating to the Greeks the Treaty, which I sent them at full in 'The Times' newspaper some time before. Should you be coming out here, either shortly or at some future period, make it known yourself both to Lord Dudley and the Duke of Clarence. As we three Admirals are to arrange the Treaty with the Greeks, whilst the ambassadors do the same with the Turks, I do not expect to leave these seas for some months, even if all go on smoothly. Which party may have the most difficult affair to settle finally, I know not; but we are not in as much danger of being shut up in a tower as our coadjutors, which is some comfort. I hope the necessity of the case may create that union amongst the Greeks, the want of which has been their curse: it will, at all events, unite the best amongst them; and many who have remained aloof will now, I trust, come forward and meet us as a rallying-point. I find a plain straightforward course answers best with them, and that lightens the load I have to carry. We have had the thermometer frequently at 95° in my cabin, and a parching air which was very oppressive. At Nauplia one day the sand thickened the air so that we could hardly see the beach three miles off. But we all felt more severely a calm off Hydra two nights past: nobody could sleep through it. My night was passed in my shirt only: sometimes trying my cot, sometimes an arm-chair in the line of draught, and sometimes walking in the stern walk, very sleepy and not able to forget my discomfort. Upon the whole the 'ship,' as we term it, is very healthy, and I stand it all surprisingly, considering that I have the accompaniment of great and constant anxiety of mind, and a thousand infernal piratical villanies to redress into the bargain. Not one vessel under my orders but on joining presents me with several complaints of this sort which call for immediate interposition. And this is the envied climate, in which bathing and sleeping, when one can, are the only comforts; envied even by English, who can always have comfort either within door or without, let the weather be what it may. I do not find any of them boast of such climates, however, when in them. In the Gulf of Smyrna, at Vourla, only a few hours' sail distant, no doubt despatches of importance are now waiting for me; which makes this calm ill-timed. There too, I shall find the two ships of the line and several others waiting my arrival; and

there too I shall find a no inconsiderable part of my family, Midshipman Hal, whom it will do my eyes good to see again, for I do not like to be so long shut out from all of you.

Smyrna: August 26.

I certainly received despatches of some importance from the ships of the line at Vourla, from Mr. S. Canning as well as others; but only up to the 13th, although I have a letter from the Consul at Constantinople of the 21st, and we are assured here that the Allied note was presented to the Sultan on the 16th, which inflamed His Highness with a considerable portion of anger. The Franks there are in great tribulation: but the defenceless nature of this place from attack, and the better policy of the Pacha, puts the people of this place more at their ease. I have done my best to keep the said Pacha up to this good feeling, and he has sent me a sort of scimitar as a specimen of his good-will. As I do not expect to find time to write to Bethell or anyone else on this occasion, tell them of me and my proceedings thus far: what my proceedings shortly may be I cannot venture to say: the Treaty being no secret they may judge themselves. Report here says that, besides the declaration having been published on the 16th, the Sultan is allowed only a fortnight to answer, by his assent or dissent; therefore I may be very soon advising the commander of the Turco-Egyptian fleet to retire. There are altogether sixty vessels of war and fifty transports, &c., with 5,000 infantry and 400 cavalry. These were forced on board, and the whole must be in nice trim for a gale of wind.

Off Thermia: September 2.

Which gale of wind blew us thus far at the rate of ten and eleven knots an hour last night and to-day.

Sir E. C. to Mr. S. Canning.

Off Vourla: August 25, 1827.

Sir,—I have just received your two letters of the 13th August, one *secret** and the other *confidential*,† and also your letter of the 14th. I have at the same time learned of the fleet at Alexandria having quitted that port on the 5th; of

* That the time allowed to the Porte for answering the declaration of the Courts was reduced from a month to a fortnight.

† That the French admiral had received his instructions to act, and that the ambassadors only await the arrival of a Russian courier, expected shortly. News from Paris dated July 24, that one Russian ship of the line had reached Portsmouth: that three French sail of the line had left Toulon for Milo: and that three English ships of the line had entered the Mediterranean.

which I need not enumerate particulars, as you have already had them from Mr. Salt. We had heard reports of this, but did not believe them; particularly as Admiral De Rigny told me he had a vessel off Alexandria ready to bring him the news immediately in case of such an event. He left me to go to Milo, and there he would certainly learn it: but how he will act in consequence I cannot judge. Captain Hamilton would join him there to-day or to-morrow, perhaps, according to our previously concerted arrangements that they should communicate with Ibrahim Bey at Modon. But for the expectation of hearing from you that you have presented your note, and that consequently at such a date I should have to impede hostile movements, my inclination would lead me to take the two ships of the line and watch the movements of this fleet, in such a mysterious manner as might deter them from proceeding to the Greek coast. At the present advanced period, however, I might retard thereby the carrying into execution the more effectual purpose of the Treaty, by a few days' delay in getting your despatches; and I therefore intend waiting for them at Smyrna. Mr. Scarlett* is fortunately so well aware of all that has passed in the joint communications of my colleague and myself with the Greeks, and also of our proceedings towards each other, that I need not detail them upon paper as I might otherwise have done. It is important to the cause in which we are engaged, and although a very minor consideration, it is important to me also that you should know more upon this subject than I should like to commit to writing. I think, however, I can in some measure relieve your anxiety upon one point, by telling you that neither Captain Hamilton nor I think the man to whose conduct your letter refers, a person of any strong intellectual ability. If his meaning be good, this is a serious loss to me; if bad it diminishes one's fear for the result. Further, I may say that I cannot persuade myself he is now insincere in the main point of consideration. The Treaty must be executed: the mode of performing our duty may be affected by our inward feelings, whatever those feelings may arise from. *He* tells me that Mehemet gave an order in the shape of a letter, that he (Ibrahim) should act as he advised. The first time he told me this, I said, 'Then you are like those people in dramatic representations to whom the Sultan gives his ring:' to which he laughing assented. I led to his making this avowal a second time, and he did it even in the presence of Captain Curzon of this ship, and I think also of Captain Hamilton. He then said what '*we*' wish instead of what *I*

* Attaché to the Embassy.

wish. This change might be mere application to present circumstances of our joint duty. But it will seem to you that he must have done something to obtain such a power, which could only have been entrusted for the grantor's own purposes. Had he engaged to assist in giving him the Morea? If so, his stickling now for that limit, his urging inactivity, which would diminish the Greek claim to more, may perhaps be thus accounted for. Certainly, however, he is not favourable to the Greeks, as he shows them both in his conduct and manner; and it is equally clear that their reliance is upon us. Our third colleague may probably lean the other way, and thus make the scales even. As Mr. Scarlett will communicate the substance of a letter which I have written in answer to Lord Dudley, I need not proceed further with this subject to make you a judge of the line of conduct I am likely to pursue.

To Lady C.

Smyrna: August 25.

I am without instructions upon some serious points on which I ought to be informed by one or other of my masters. Every now and then I drop my pen and *quarter deck* my cabin, thinking I have more upon my hands than falls to the share of any one man; and yet not a day passes without some addition to my load. Sometimes, when overcome with the heat, &c., I almost despair; but then, after being brought up to the mark by some new circumstance, and feeling that I have got pretty well through it, up I go again, and am ready for anything. I am ready at all times to join in our native pugilistic cry, 'A clear stage and no favour;' but it is a boon seldom granted to us *naval* men, and we know, on the contrary, that we are judged by expediency.

Sir E. C. to H.R.H. Duke of Clarence.

Smyrna: August 27, 1827.

Your R. H. knows that the difficulties attending this Treaty have been felt by wiser heads than mine, where no suspicion of insincerity appears to have obtained: whereas, although Lords Goderich and Granville express their full confidence in ——, Mr. ——, who is much more fully informed, writes purposely to guard me against insincerity; a caution, indeed, effectually forced upon me by my own experience, as well as by the concurrent opinions of persons conversant with his proceedings in this country.

At all events, however much he may increase my difficulties and my anxiety, by this vacillation and delay in the execu-

tion of our joint services, your R. H. may rely upon my not betraying any impatience with him, or descending from the vantage ground which I hope to maintain by pursuing undeviatingly the straightforward path, which is pointed out by my duty no less than my inclination. With respect to your R. H. observation as to my co-operating cordially with our Minister at Constantinople, I will only say that it has been my study to ascertain his wishes, and my pleasure to execute them even by anticipation. I have long meditated communicating to your R. H. my sentiments on the state of discipline in this squadron. But the Treaty, its effects, and the carrying it into execution, have necessarily absorbed all my thoughts, as well as all my time not occupied by the regulation of routine of vessels necessarily so much dispersed, and of which more has been required by the state of these seas than it has been possible for them to perform. I will not, however, conclude this letter without assuring your R. H. that the exercise of the guns which you consider of primary importance, neither has been, nor is likely to be, neglected; of which I trust the enclosed report will be deemed a pretty good specimen.

I have, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From H.R.H. Duke of Clarence to Sir E. C.

Bushy House: October 3, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—Yesterday brought me yours of August 3, from Vourla, and 27th from Smyrna.

Your account of the exercise of the guns on board the 'Asia' is gratifying on every account; and though the state of affairs where you now are will naturally make those under you attentive to the men at quarters, I cannot too often urge the necessity and propriety of constant practice at the guns in the different ships and vessels under your inspection. Yours from Smyrna requires consideration, as the scenes you are of necessity engaged in are of national consequence. I shall ever give honest and prudent advice to the various officers who may be employed on particular services, and write with the same sentiments as would direct me if placed in similar situations. Great Britain ever acts with good faith, and it is to be hoped France and Russia co-operate with equal sincerity. I am glad Mr. S. C. on the spot is watching the conduct of the allies with caution. Admiral De R., I dare say, is what you describe him, and caution, firmness, and mildness will guide you. In your next I shall expect your

opinion of the Russian commander as soon as you can form an opinion of him. I have always heard Mr. S. C. well spoken of, and no doubt both your duty and inclination will make you act with him cordially. Your time is too seriously taken up with the important business now before you, to permit those minute attentions to the officers and men so desirable and useful in peace. At the same time, the service on which you and they are now engaged, must require the commanders of the ships and vessels to be prepared as in war; and so far the grand object of constant state for immediate action will be gained. I think I have said enough to impress your mind with the responsibility of your important situation. I rejoice you think I judge rightly of what is passing. I can only again recommend prudence, discretion, firmness, and civility, towards those in command of the French and Russians; and co-operation with Mr. S. C. our Minister. I shall, of course, be anxious to hear *of* and *from* you, and ever remain,

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM.

From Admiral De Rigny to Sir E. C.

'Sirène': le 22 août 1827, à 10 h. du soir.

MONSIEUR L'AMIRAL,—Les circonstances me pressent d'avoir l'honneur de vous informer que je reçois à l'instant, par un brick qui m'est expédié d'Alexandrie, l'avis que la flotte d'Égypte, forte de 92 bâtimens portant 4,500 hommes, a quitté Alexandrie dans les journées du 5 et 6 août. Elle s'est dirigée vers la côte de Caramanie, où elle doit faire de l'eau; de là aller à Modon, embarquer des troupes d'Ibrahim, puis se porter en masse sur Hydra. Elle a été laissée le 9 à 100 milles dans le nord d'Alexandrie; les vents qui ont régné font penser au capitaine du brick de S. M. que même si elle avait fait route directe, elle ne pourrait aujourd'hui avoir dépassé Candie. J'expédie un A. D. C. de l'Ambassadeur à Smyrne avec ces avis, qui seront déjà parvenus à Constantinople. Aux termes du Traité nous n'avons à agir que lorsque les sommations seront faites à la Porte, et que 15 jours après elle n'aura pas répondu par acceptant l'armistice.

Il reste donc à savoir si le tems qui s'écoulera dans les préparatifs des Turcs sera moindre que les délais qui doivent avoir lieu à Constantinople par la non-arrivée du courrier russe, et l'absence de la flotte de S. M. I.

Le vaisseau 'Le Scipion' est arrivé; il est à Paros. Je vais à Milo réaliser tout ce que je pourrai. Veuillez bien me faire connaître par l'estafette votre opinion sur nos dé-

marches ultérieures. La mienne est qu'il est assez inutile pour le moment d'aller vers Ibrahim; de fait, il ne fera rien avant l'arrivée de la flotte, et lorsque nous la saurons à Modon ce sera peut-être, suivant moi, l'occasion d'y aller, ou bien de l'attendre quand elle se présentera à l'entrée de l'Archipel. J'attendrai en tous cas l'estafette à Milo.

Je vous renouvelle, Mons. l'Amiral, l'assurance de ma haute considération,

Le Contre-Amiral
H. DE RIGNY.

The French and Russian Admirals were both placed under the command of the English Admiral, and in a letter of August 26, Admiral De Rigny informed Sir E. C. officially of the orders he had received from his own Minister of Marine, 'de ce qui a été décidé au sujet du commandement supérieur, dans le cas où il deviendrait utile qu'il fût exercé.' Admiral Heiden was not at that time arrived, but his letter of November 8 in Navarin Harbour, will show how heartily he accepted the superior command of the English Admiral, and placed himself under his direction.

From Admiral De Rigny to Sir E. C.

Milo: 26 août 1827.

MONSIEUR L'AMIRAL,

. . . . . .

Hamilton vient d'arriver; après avoir bien réfléchi, j'ai pensé que le résultat d'une démarche faite en ce moment près d'Ibrahim pourrait précipiter peut-être ce qu'il est de notre intérêt de retarder; c'est-à-dire qu'Ibrahim voyant, d'après le traité public, qu'il peut avoir le tems d'agir avant que nous ne soyons en droit de l'empêcher, se hâterait d'attaquer Hydra: au lieu que si nous ne lui disons rien en ce moment, les lenteurs accoutumées des Turcs nous serviront mieux qu'un avis, dont le Père n'a pas profité. D'un autre côté Ibrahim aurait peut-être porté ses efforts sur terre, tandis qu'attendant encore sa flotte il ne fera sans doute ni l'un ni l'autre. Hamilton, à qui j'ai fait ces réflexions, s'est décidé à partir pour Smyrne. Nous avons encore dix jours au moins devant les mains, avant que cette flotte d'Égypte soit réunie à Navarin. Je ne quitterai Milo et Paros que pour aller à Smyrne; et si de nouvelles directions des Ambassadeurs parvenaient à Smyrne, ou si vous aviez quelque-chose à me communiquer, je serais toujours sur cette direction.

H. DE R.

Sir E. C. to Prince Mavrocordato, Zaini, or Tricoupi.

H.B.M. ship, 'Asia': August 30, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—I see in your letter to Captain Hamilton the expression of doubts of the sincerity of the Allied Powers, as to the Treaty; and even some of the best informed appear to have doubts respecting both France and Russia. I shall shortly give proof of English sincerity by placing the ships under my command between Hydra and Thermia in readiness to impede the Ottoman fleet at the first moment that I am empowered to do so. The sincerity of the French Government is to be seen in their having caused the reduction in the time allowed for the Ottoman answer to *fifteen* days instead of thirty. And still more clear than all is the sincerity of the Russians in Monsieur de Ribeaupierre having (in consequence of the delay in the arrival of Count Heiden with the Russian squadron) sent Monsieur Timoni, attached to his Embassy, to act for him in the full performance of all that would have been done by an officer of the Russian squadron, if it were arrived. You are welcome to use this information in any way for the purpose of operating usefully on the minds of your countrymen. Above all, let them understand that there can be no good in opposing the will of the Allied Powers, even if their plans should not comprise all the benefit the Greeks may desire. No doubt but everything possible will be done for any patriotic Greeks who may be sufferers by the arrangements to be decided on; but if they oppose these arrangements, they cannot expect any consideration whatever. I will gladly deliver my sentiments personally, whenever I may have an opportunity; but I have written thus much now in the hope of defeating, in some measure, the machinations of such military chiefs as may endeavour to persuade others under their influence to join in their selfish and unpatriotic opposition.

I remain, dear sir,

Yours with great esteem,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

Sir E. C. to Mr. S. Canning.

Vourla: August 30, 1827.

SIR,—Mr. Timoni has the Declaration ready signed by me with my name, simply; and he has my authority for letting Admiral De R. add our titles or not, or do anything else which may please his fancy, provided he make no delay or do anything to require a new signature from me. And to

prepare against this, I will get away to-morrow if possible, and take my station with the other ships of the line betwixt Hydra and Thermia, in readiness to forward the delivery of the Declaration. Lord Granville in a letter of July 27 again assures me of the sincerity of the French Government, of which I have no doubt. I have, however, as little doubt but his Lordship, with our experience and information, would think otherwise of some of its agents.

However, we must do our best with such tools as we have to work with, and trust to a good result. When at my rendezvous before mentioned, I shall be in readiness to *act*, as soon as I receive authority from you; and I have left the 'Brisk' at Smyrna to bring me that authority the moment it arrive. In the meantime, our presence there in that state of readiness, may paralyse any attempt meditated by the Turco-Egyptian fleet. You will observe in a letter which Captain Hamilton will send you in his, the expression of doubts as to the sincerity of the parties. I wrote a letter in consequence,* of which I enclose a copy, which I shall send off to-night by the 'Philomel.' Captain H. read me a letter he proposed sending to you, the observations of which (as I told him) I think very sound and good. *I* have forborne writing upon the part most adapted for the limit; because, besides not feeling myself complete master of the subject, I did not think it my business to do so. But I am sure you will receive as they deserve, these remarks of Captain H., who has well considered beforehand the judgment he has thus recorded. He tells me that Admiral De R. has sent M. Laborde on some mission. Of this I have heard nothing from the Admiral himself, therefore know not its object. He has also had Coletti on board the 'Sirène,' and thence sent him to the 'Cambrian:' but H. considering him as quite French, would not converse with him.

I have, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

To Lady C.

August 28, 1827.

I am now authorised by our Ambassadors to send jointly with my colleagues, the Declaration to the Greeks. They think the Sultan will not accede, as he knows of the Fleet having left Alexandria with the 4,000 or 5,000 troops. They were *several days* getting out of the Harbour, the ships must water at Suda, and the troops were forced on board. Their very numbers will create confusion, and I hope they will not

* To Prince Mavrocordato, &c.

have done anything before the time come for our forbidding their further proceeding.

Your ever affec.,

E. C.

At Vourla: August 30.

My business increases rapidly and is made very irksome by the vacillation of —— ——. The rendezvous he gives me as one where I am *certain* of his receiving despatches is *either Milo, Paros,* or *on the way to Smyrna!!!* and at a moment too when the Ambassadors are so anxious to gain time.

I can now only add that the Greeks assent to the proposal of the Allies for an armistice, and that I am sending off this news to Lord Dudley.

Sir E. C. to Lord Dudley.

(*Official.*)

'Asia,' at Hydra: September 3, 1827.

My Lord,— According to the first instruction signed by your Lordship, the Prince Polignac, and the Prince Lieven, and marked D, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Declaration was yesterday morning presented to the Commission from the Greek legislative body appointed for the purpose of receiving it; and that in the afternoon the enclosed assent was delivered to Captain Hamilton, Captain Hugon (of 'L'Armide' frigate), and Mons. Timoni, the gentleman who brought from Mons. de Ribeaupierre authority to make the Russian Government a party to the proceedings of the two above-named officers. A copy of this assent went immediately by 'L'Armide' for Smyrna, and from thence Mons. Timoni is to take it to Constantinople. The Turco-Egyptian fleet (of which I enclose a list) quitted Alexandria on the 5th and 6th of August, and proceeded to Suda, in Candia; they have not yet appeared further to the northward, and if they should have been at sea during these last few days of strong northerly wind, it is probable they may be driven still further to leeward. I have the 'Brisk' at Smyrna, to bring up Mr. Stratford Canning's despatches, and therefore expect to receive his instructions to impede further hostilities, before the above fleet can reach this part of the coast. I hear the four French ships of the line are at Paros, and perhaps Admiral De Rigny may be with them. At all events he will hear from Count Guilleminot, and I doubt not will be informed of the movements of the

Alexandria fleet also; and I therefore rely upon his being ready to act jointly with me, whenever the conduct of Turkish commanders of that fleet may, jointly with the instructions of our Ambassadors, render our interposition necessary.

I am, &c.

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

Sir E. C. to Lord Dudley.

(*Private.*)

'Asia,' Hydra: September 3, 1827.

MY DEAR LORD,—Although some unnecessary delay was ocasioned by Admiral De Rigny giving three separate places for Captain Hamilton to go to in searching for him, I have now to congratulate you on the receipt of the Greek assent to the armistice proposed in the Declaration. We do not now know where Admiral De R. may be, and cannot at all events place any reliance upon his movements. The Turks, knowing, as they must, of the arrival of four French in addition to our three ships of the line, will not, as I imagine, think it prudent to force their way to further hostile proceedings on this coast. Even if they think the French ships may not be joined with ours, they may still be deterred, by that determination to prevent it with the force at my command which I shall make known to them, if reasoning and persuasion should fail in producing that effect in a more desirable manner. I think the conduct of —— lately at Spezzia, and the barefaced way in which the Austrian flag covers Turkish property, will eventually require our interference. If the Austrian commander continue to use force to prevent the papers of such vessels undergoing examination, it will be hardly fair for us to prevent seizing those of Austria under any circumstances; and a war betwixt Greece and Austria may possibly grow out of this system, much to the injury of the latter, who is now profiting by the state of affairs in the Levant more than all the other Powers put together. If the object of the Tripartite Treaty should be effected, and a peace take place betwixt Turkey and Greece, the next important point is to destroy piracy.

Aided by the Greek marine, I sanguinely hope this may be done. But to do it quickly and well, the forces of all the Powers which trade in these seas should act simultaneously; and even then it would require the assistance of a division of regular troops. The Candiotes at Milo, who commit villanies of all sorts, have said, that if I landed any

marines they would kill every man of them. This boast at all events shows the hardihood of those not immediately exposed to the guns of the shipping. This arose from my sending a frigate to rescue some ransomed Turks in the house of our Vice-Consul there: the French Consul has a guard in his house from Mons. De Rigny's ship. You will receive with this the copy of a letter which I thought it requisite to write just before the presentation of the Declaration, to remove objections which it seemed to me likely would be got up against it. I enclose also a Hydra paper, containing a French translation of the Government representation of ——'s conduct at Spezzia. You may judge of the difficulty we are put to by my colleague, by what I have said in the former part of this letter. I had taken all possible pains, jointly with Mr. Timoni, to forward the wish of the Ambassadors to expedite the giving in the Declaration. We wrote it out fair, and I put my name to it exactly according to order, and left him to add our titles, or do anything of that sort he might fancy, if he would not delay; and we wrote a short letter, to which we considered it impossible he should wish to add or in any way to alter it, to which I also put my name. I sent these off with Mr. Timoni, in the 'Talbot,' to seek for the Admiral according to his rendezvous, 'Milo, Paros (two ports), or on his way to Smyrna.' Luckily he met him at sea. Instead of signing the papers and sending them on by Mr. T. to join the French officer, on whom he had not then decided, he took Mr. T. on board his own ship, and left the 'Talbot' to return to me and tell me this much, without knowing more of his intentions. The 'Cambrian' had also three rendezvous from him, the first of which, being far to leeward, must have necessarily caused delay, even if he had been there. The third was, 'wherever the Greek Commission might be gone to.' Then Admiral de R. sent off 'L'Armide' with Mr. Timoni, without any apparent intention of Captain H. finding any information of his intending to do so, at either of the two other places. The 'Cambrian' consequently, being thus led out of the way to places where there was no French vessel to give him information, and having to beat up against a gale of wind, did not arrive at the last place of meeting until thirty-six hours after 'L'Armide;' whereas he would have arrived there before her but for this confusion.

. . . . . .

. . . Nor perhaps should I have gone at such length into this subject, but to prevent its being thought that any delay had been caused by that excellent officer, Captain Hamilton. Had any French ship been thrown to leeward

as the 'Cambrian' then was, even that in which Admiral De R. has his own flag, the Declaration would not even now have been presented. It required the dexterity of long-practised seamanship, the nerve of habitual danger, to do what Captain H. successfully did on this occasion. Now my good friend, let me again assure you, that however much it might relieve the internal dissatisfaction of H. and myself to give loose to our tongues on this occasion, we shall go on as we have hitherto done, *diplomatically* smooth through this important business.

The Coletti, whose conduct is detailed in the accompanying 'Spectateur,' has been at the bottom of all the intrigues of parties in Greece. He was said to be an agent of Admiral De R., and the Admiral himself admitted that he considered himself as having great influence over him. He received him on board 'Syrène' after I quitted Nauplia last; and thence sent him to visit Hamilton, who would not enter into conversation with him. He has acted a principal part in the late disturbances of that town; and has been by turns friend and enemy of Colocotroni. There is a great deal of this sort of dirt which those who travel through by-lanes have to shake off, before they are again fit to be seen on the great turnpike roads. But, in my desire to put you 'au fait' as to all that is going on here, I find my pen getting ahead of my intentions, and therefore will only add that I am, &c.

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From Captain Richards to — Salt, Esq., Consul, Cairo.

H.M.S. 'Pelorus,' Alexandria: September 3, 1827.

I am instructed by H. E. the Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces, to inform you that the note of H. E., the Ambassador at Constantinople, on the Treaty relative to the affairs of Greece, was presented by him on the 16th inst., and that the utmost time that could be allowed for the reply would not extend beyond the 31st of the same month; and that, from that moment, the Commander-in-Chief would be authorised to stop all supplies, reinforcements, &c., &c., of whatever nature, which may attempt to pass by sea between the contending parties. As H. E. the Ambassador would inform the Commander-in-Chief with the utmost possible despatch, of the decision of the Porte, and as vessels of war and couriers were ready to receive and convey the Ambassador's despatch, there can be no doubt that the Admiral would, at the latest, be in possession of the decision of the Porte on the 2nd inst., and would instantly proceed in exe-

cution of his final instructions according as the reply of the Porte may require.

The naval force in the Archipelago, of which one-half is British, consists of eight large ships of the line, as many frigates, and a considerable number of corvettes, &c.; a force, you will perceive, more than sufficient, if recourse must be had to arms, to put any doubt as to the issue of a contest quite out of the question. Placed in a situation most trying, but with instructions not less positive, his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is particularly desirous that the whole may terminate in an amicable arrangement; but if the Porte should blindly refuse to listen to the request of the three great mediating Powers, his Excellency is most solicitous that the fleet of H. H. the Pacha of Egypt and the forces embarked on board may not be involved in the hazard to which, in the event of hostilities becoming inevitable, they must be exposed. His Excellency has therefore instructed me to convey, in the strongest possible manner, to his Highness the Pacha his most anxious desire and earnest hope that his Highness may be induced to recall his forces either wholly or in part, within his ports; as, however reluctant, however pained to take any part against the favourite little navy of Egypt, his orders are such as to prevent the possibility of his distinguishing between it and the Ottoman fleet: and the British character is a sufficient pledge that if he acts, it will be with the promptitude and vigour peculiar to that nation. And I am further directed to state that in the event of the Egyptian fleet being withdrawn from the contest now carrying on against the Greeks, and its being afterwards threatened by the Greek force under Lord Cochrane, his Excellency the Admiral would consider the Egyptian fleet as under his immediate protection, and would interpose the necessary force to prevent any molestation being offered. In this pressing state of affairs I need not urge you to use your utmost influence with his Highness to effect, if possible, an arrangement in every respect so desirable, and which I know, in your zeal for the public service, you have so much at heart. Should it appear to you that my presence at Cairo will tend in any way to the furtherance of this important object, I will repair thither on your signifying your wish to that effect. In the event of the Pacha wishing to recall his forces, you are at liberty to say to his Highness that should he so desire, the 'Pelorus' will proceed instantly with his despatches or orders, or with any person he may wish to send for that purpose, and that I shall esteem myself most fortunate if I should be thus far instrumental in preserving that good understanding which

has happily so long subsisted between his Highness and Great Britain.

My instructions further are to communicate with you on the existing state of affairs, and to convey to the Admiral intelligence I may deem of sufficient importance; but again, to show the Commander-in-Chief's extreme anxiety on the subject of the Pacha's fleet, I am instantly to proceed to him if I can obtain any information of its return. I beg you will reply to me as soon as possible on the subject of this communication.

I have the honour to be, with great truth, &c., &c.,

PETER RICHARDS.

(*Most confidential.*)

Mr. Salt to Captain Richards.

(*Extract.*)

Cairo: September 6, 1827.

At eight o'clock Osmyn Bey came to me and communicated from his Highness the following answer. That he was surprised at the extreme imprudence of Admiral De Rigny in giving to the world such declarations as those he had been pleased to put forth, for which there could be no foundation —that he had to tell me in private that owing to this imprudence the Grand Seignor and Divan had, as his Highness learned by his last letters from Constantinople, been actually on the point of declaring his Highness a rebel to the Porte, and of arresting his Agent Nedjib Effendi and his other friends, but that fortunately at that moment a Tartar had arrived at Constantinople, which announced the departure of the fleet; and thus for a time warded off the blow. That I must therefore see how delicately he was situated. His Highness could not give any direct orders to recall his fleet, or take any step which might be interpreted into rebellion by the Porte; but on this head he would communicate more particularly through Mr. Boghos at Alexandria. That he begged to express his high sense of the attention paid him by the Admiral in making this communication.

With respect to the security of the Consulates and British subjects resident in Egypt, on which I had begged to have an explicit declaration, his Highness told Osmyn Bey to assure me that, whatever might occur, even in the case of his ships suffering, both might consider themselves as in perfect safety in his dominions; but he desired that even this might not be openly announced, as, if it came to the ears of the Porte, it would be said that he (his Highness) had entered into a secret intelligence with our Government.

From Captain Richards to Sir E. C.

H.M.S. 'Pelorus,' off Hydra: September 23, 1827.

Finding there existed a strong impression on the public mind that some secret communications were passing between our Government and the Pacha, in which the Porte was not consulted, I deemed it prudent to remain at Alexandria until his Highness the Pacha or the Consul-General should request my presence at Cairo. I therefore lost no time in forwarding, by courier, to Mr. Salt, your despatch, with a letter from myself in conformity with your instructions. On the 9th I received Mr. Salt's reply, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose, and on the 10th he arrived at Alexandria, but in a state of such severe indisposition that Mr. Boghos, the Pacha's confidential agent, and ourselves, did not meet till the following day at noon. At the meeting which then took place Mr. Boghos said the Pacha had apprised him of the contents of your despatch and of my letter, and that he was fully authorised by his Highness to reply in his name; that the Pacha had preferred this medium of communication as more likely to be secret, and to prevent any idle rumour, than by personal conference with the Consul-General, or myself, at Cairo, where Osmyn Bey would be the interpreter. Mr. Boghos next proceeded to assure Mr. Salt and myself that the assertion of the French Admiral, that Ibrahim Pacha would retire from the Morea on an intimation to that effect being given by the Admiral, was without the slightest foundation, and that the Pacha was far from having given any such assurance, or even any intimation of such an intention. On the contrary, he added, be assured the Pacha has never explained himself to the French in the frank and open manner he has to the English, particularly Mr. Salt and Major Cradock. He further said the excessive imprudence of the French Admiral and the 'bavardage' of the French agents generally, had done much mischief, and had given such a handle to the Pacha's enemies at Constantinople that the Sultan was on the point of declaring him a rebel to the Porte for having detained the fleet, and which the opportune arrival of the news of its having sailed had alone prevented.

He next expressed the deep sense the Pacha entertained of your marked attention and courtesy towards him, and said that, suspected as his Highness was at the moment, you would easily understand the delicate and critical nature of his position, and how impossible it was for him to recall any part of his force, or act in any way as if he had an interest

separate from the Porte; but that if you could show him the least opening, the slightest glimpse even of anything that could bear him out, he would be most ready to listen to you, as in fact it was so clearly his interest that the Greeks should be free, that you could not but be aware of it. Situated, however, between two evils, he must choose the least; and that it was better for him to suffer the loss of his fleet than draw on himself the whole weight of the Ottoman power, the hatred of all the Mussulmen, and the sacrifice of all that he had been so long endeavouring to establish; as he was convinced his defection would excite the indignation of the Sultan to such a degree that every sacrifice would be made to ensure his destruction.

Mr. Boghos then hinted in no very doubtful terms, that though alone the Pacha could not encounter such a risk, yet with a guarantee of support from England he might be induced to try the hazard. He further said the Pacha was prepared to hear of the destruction of some of his ships, nay, that he even thought that a *little* damage might do him a service in the eyes of the Porte, but that even if he sustained a total loss it would not cause any change in his sentiment towards the English, and that the consuls and merchants might be assured that themselves and their property would be respected, and that, even if orders of a rigorous nature were sent by the Sultan, he would find means to protect them and ensure them a safe residence if they should choose to remain. As a guarantee, at least in part, his Highness cites, he added, the protection he has so long afforded the Greek merchants, notwithstanding his orders to the contrary. Mr. Boghos gave a most positive assurance that he had said nothing but by the authority of his Highness, and pledged the Pacha's word of honour thereon. The only intelligence I have been able to obtain respecting the Pacha's fleet is, that it was seen off Bomba on the coast of Barbary, towards the end of August (the precise day I was unable to learn), steering towards Modon with a fair wind. It affords me much pleasure to state on the authority of the consuls, as well as from my own observation, that the most perfect tranquillity exists at Alexandria, and that the British residents, notwithstanding the present aspect of affairs, are under less anxiety about their safety than for some time past. This state of tranquillity, the wish of the Consul-General to send forward his despatches, and my own wish to communicate with you, have induced me return for your further instructions; which I hope will meet your approbation.

I have, &c.,

PETER RICHARDS.

From Stratford Canning to Sir E. C.

Constantinople: August 31, 1827.*

SIR,—I hasten to inform you that at the expiration of the term allowed to the Porte for deliberating on our proposals respecting Greece, the Reis Effendi having refused them on the part of his government in the most positive terms, I have this day sent in to his Excellency, in concert with the French Ambassador and the Russian Envoy, the official Declaration, of which a copy is herewith enclosed. In pursuance of the joint instructions under which this step has been taken, it is my duty to signify to you that you are now called upon to proceed to the execution of those important measures, which you have been eventually directed by his Majesty's Government to assist in carrying into effect. Immediately on receipt of this information, you will therefore, no doubt, make the necessary arrangements for that purpose, in concert with the commanders of the French and Russian squadrons. As it is probable, however, that Rear-Admiral Heyden will not yet have reached the station when you receive this despatch, I must leave it to your judgment to adapt your operations to the circumstances of his absence, in such manner as shall appear most advisable to you on communication with Admiral De Rigny, and the best calculated to give effect to the intentions of the Allied Governments.

I have the honour to enclose herewith, for your more complete information, copies of the letters, similar to this, addressed respectively by Count Guilleminot and M. de Ribeaupierre to the commanders of the French and Russian squadrons. We trust that you already have under your command and that of Rear-Admiral De Rigny, a sufficient force to deter the Turkish and Egyptian fleets from making any serious attempt upon the coasts or islands of Greece, especially upon such points of them as may be considered the most probable objects of attack.

I have the honour, &c.,

STRATFORD CANNING.

From Sir E. C. to the Admiralty.

'Asia,' at Hydra: September 3, 1827.

SIR,—I have the honour of presenting to his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral a copy of the assent of the Greeks to the Declaration made to them, according to the instruction emanating from the Treaty, which was trans-

* Received at Egina on 7th Sept., the Ottoman Fleet having reached Navarin on Sept. 9.

mitted with your letter of July 14 last by his Royal Highness's commands. The Ambassadors at Constantinople transmitted their declaration to the Sultan on the 16th of last month, and I have left the 'Brisk' at Smyrna to bring me the instructions which may arise out of it, and shall remain hereabout, in readiness to act on them as speedily as possible. The 'Albion's' main yard being found to be badly sprung and partly rotten, whilst the wind was very strong from the northward, I directed her yesterday to proceed to Milo to repair it, and then to return to me. Probably Captain Ommanney will there hear something positive of Rear-Admiral De Rigny's movements, and also of the situation of the Turco-Egyptian fleet, which, after leaving Alexandria on the 5th and 6th of August last, had put into Suda in Candia. If they were at sea during the late high winds they will have been driven to the southward, and at all events they cannot have advanced this way. I trust therefore they will not have been able to effect any hostile purpose before I may receive instructions from his Excellency Mr. S. Canning to prevent their further operations. I hear the four French ships of the line are at Paros waiting Rear-Admiral De Rigny's orders. He had joined them, but was still cruising about in the 'Sirène' frigate.

The 'Genoa' is with me; the 'Seringapatam' is at Smyrna to protect the factory in case of any hostile disposition; and the 'Rifleman' is cruising in the vicinity of the Dardanelles for the purpose of affording any required shelter to the ladies of the Christian Embassies.

I have, &c.

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

CHAPTER IX.

On September 8, Sir E. C. received a letter from Mr. S. Canning, dated September 1, in which he says 'that he has considered with his colleagues the several questions put to him by Sir E. C.;* that on the subject of collision they agree that although the measures are not to be adopted in a hostile spirit, and the Allied Governments desire to avoid anything that may bring on war, yet the prevention of supplies is ultimately to be enforced if necessary, and when all other means are exhausted, by cannon shot.'

Sir E. C. to Mr. S. Canning.

'Asia,' off Hydra: September 8, 1827.

Sir,—I have had the honour of receiving by Captain Dalgleish your *confidential* letter of September 1, and also your letter of August 31 with the accompanying copies of instructions sent to my colleagues. I consider these instructions as sufficiently explanatory, and I am now proceeding in search of Admiral De Rigny, for the purpose of concerting with him the best mode of carrying them into execution. I know nothing of the Turco-Egyptian fleet since it entered Suda. Admiral De Rigny is stated to have said, that he had sent to inform the French officers serving in the Egyptian ships, that they must retire immediately or they would be treated as traitors to their country. No doubt it is advisable that we should show the whole combined force at once, as the best inducement to suspend further hostile operations. But if I should not find Admiral De Rigny, and if the officer in command of the French ships of the line should not feel empowered to move in his absence, I shall consider the force under my immediate orders as sufficient to execute the service required without them, in case of some determined

* In his letter of August 11.

conduct on the part of the Turkish Admiral rendering the employment of it absolutely necessary.

I mention this now that I am sending the 'Brisk' back to join the 'Seringapatam' at Smyrna, that you may anticipate the execution of this great object of the Treaty, under any circumstances which may arise.

I have, &c.

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

Thus it may be seen—and the gallant devotion to duty may be fully appreciated—that Sir Edward Codrington undertook without hesitation a great responsibility. The French ships had not joined, being at Milo, the Russian ships had not arrived, and yet he determined, with three sail of the line, to place himself before Hydra, and to oppose, if necessary by force, the whole of the Turkish and Egyptian fleet. Perhaps, as he writes subsequently, it is fortunate that that fleet had anchored in the port of Navarin on the 9th, he himself arriving before Navarin on the 12th.

To Captain Bathurst of H. M. S. 'Genoa,' and to the Captains of H. M. Ships, 'Albion,' 'Dartmouth,' 'Cambrian,' 'Talbot,' 'Glasgow,' 'Dryad,' 'Isis,' &c.

GENERAL ORDER.

'Asia,' at sea: September 8, 1827.

SIR,—You are aware that a Treaty has been signed between England, France, and Russia, for the pacification of Greece. A declaration of the decision of the Powers has been presented to the Porte, and a similar declaration has been presented to the Greeks.

The armistice proposed to each, in these declarations, has been acceded to by the Greeks, whilst it has been refused by the Turks. It becomes, therefore, the duty of the allied naval forces to enter, in the first place, on friendly relations with the Greeks; and, next, to intercept every supply of men, arms, &c., destined against Greece, and coming either from Turkey or Africa in general. The last measure is that which requires the greatest caution, and, above all, a complete understanding as to the operations of the allied naval forces.—Most particular care is to be taken that the measures adopted against the Ottoman navy do not degenerate into hostilities. The formal intention of the Powers is to interfere as concilia-

tors, and to establish, in fact, at sea, the armistice which the Porte would not concede as a right. Every hostile proceeding would be at variance with the pacific ground which they have chosen to take, and the display of forces which they have assembled, is destined to cause that wish to be respected; but they must not be put into use, unless the Turks persist in forcing the passages which they have intercepted.

All possible means should be tried, in the first instance, to prevent the necessity of proceeding to extremities; but the prevention of supplies, as before-mentioned, is to be enforced, if necessary, and when all other means are exhausted, by cannon shot.

In giving you this instruction as to the duty which I am directed to perform, my intention is to make you acquainted thoroughly with the object of our Government, that you may not be taken by surprise as to whatever measures I may find it necessary to adopt. You will still look to me for further instructions as to the carrying any such measures into effect.

I am, &c.,
EDWD. CODRINGTON.

Sir E. C. to Prince Mavrocordato.

'Asia,' off Napoli di Malvasia: September 10, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—The conduct of the Marine Tribunal is so evidently the consequence of its being awed by the plunderers, that I have felt it necessary no longer to submit to its examination of English vessels. I would have gladly seen our vessels punished for illegal trading, even in preference to others. But it is impossible for me, whose particular duty it is to protect trade, to suffer it to be destroyed at the will of pirates and robbers. The measures I have taken will be useful to Greece herself, in showing, that without justice and honesty administered by a Government unawed by a rabble, she cannot become free and independent. The sooner my decision is known to Lord Cochrane and those under his command, the better for them: for I shall seize whatever armed vessels detain the merchant ships of England. I hear the report of the death of Mr. Canning causes the Greeks to despair of English assistance. Believe me, unless they disgust England altogether by their piracy and other unjust proceedings, they will still find us their best and most disinterested supporters. In fact, England *can* have no other object than the welfare of Greece, in return for the greater

sacrifices which she has made to obtain her independence. No change of Ministers can now change the object.

Very sincerely yours,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From Sir E. C. to H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence.

'Asia,' off Napoli di Malvasia: September 10, 1827.

SIR,—Although the difficulties I have to contend with have increased since I last had the honour of writing to you, and will still continue increasing, the confidence which I can rely upon of being properly supported by your Royal Highness, so long as my conduct entitles me to it, will, I doubt not, enable me to overcome them all. I have just received your Royal Highness's letter from Pembroke, of the 26th July, by the 'Mosquito,' as well as that of the 16th, from Plymouth, by the 'Dartmouth.' I feel highly gratified by the good opinion of me which these letters contain; and be assured, sir, it shall be my pride to deserve it. If I do well, I know I shall have your Royal Highness's approbation and support; and if I do not, I have no right to it. This is all I require. I confide in the judgment of your Royal Highness, not because it might be partial, but because it will be just. The conduct of officers is not to be decided on by secretarial illiberality, nor the honour of Great Britain to be calculated by Mr. Joseph Hume according to the rules of Cocker's arithmetic. Give me but impartial trial before an informed judge, and responsibility, which has hung like a nightmare on the breasts of some of the ablest officers in either service, will have no terrors for me. Your Royal Highness will, I trust, pardon these effusions from one whose whole mind is bent on doing his duty to his king and country on a very trying and important occasion. Since the date of my last letter, I have received Mr. S. Canning's instructions to impede further hostilities. I had already placed myself, with the ships of the line, off Hydra, in readiness; and I am in a position from which the movements of the Turco-Egyptian fleet must be seen, if they attempt anything upon this coast. Nobody seems to know where Admiral De Rigny himself is. His four ships of the line being at Paros, I have there sent a notification of my movements. They cannot act without his further orders, and I have heard that he is gone away in a brig to Smyrna, to communicate with me! I cannot pretend to understand his mode of executing the duties prescribed by the Treaty, although I must believe him to be bent on performing them. He may perhaps know that the Turco-Egyptian fleet will not come this way; but certainly

in such case, however he may get the information, it would best become him that he should let me know it also. And at all events, we have other duties to execute not consistent with keeping the ships in Paros. The reported death of Mr. Canning has excited fears on the part of the Greeks of a change of policy in our councils. I have assured them that, the Treaty being the act of the three sovereigns, it will equally be executed whoever will be minister. It is extremely difficult to protect the Greeks against the misconduct of their own countrymen. I tried hard to instil such honesty into their Marine Tribunal as would enable me to rely upon its judging justly such Greek vessels as we might seize under suspicion of piracy. But as I now find that very tribunal awed by the fanatical rabble, condemning English vessels without just cause, I have directed Captain Hamilton to have them released, and have ordered that the Greek cruisers should be no longer permitted to detain any vessel under our flag. This measure has appeared to me unavoidable, as a due protection against the anti-British rapaciousness of the Greek Lord High Admiral. I warned the Greek Government some time ago that ——— would, by his troublesome hostility to England and English commerce, do their cause more harm than good; and thus far he has proved my words true.

Off Navarin: September 12.

Having heard, on the evening of the 10th, that the Turkish expedition was come this way, I pushed after them without waiting any longer for my colleague. I find the whole of them in this port and Modon, where they arrived on the 9th. As I did not get Mr. Canning's instructions until the 7th instant, at night, we should not have been in time to stop them, even if the Rear-Admiral had been there with me. But when your Royal Highness examines their force as stated in my public letter, you will see that, in all probability, they would openly resist the force that I have to intercept their operations without being joined by the French squadron or the Russians. It is not clear that it would have been my duty to prevent their entering one of their own ports. But as such a proceeding would appear the most consistent with the object contemplated in the Treaty, I had made up my mind to adopt it; trusting that if error it should be found, it would, at all events, be deemed an error on the right side. I intend waiting here a short time, for the chance of communicating with the 'Ariadne,' and shall then return towards the Levant.

I have, &c.,
EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence to Sir E. C.

Admiralty: October 16, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 10th off Napoli di Malvasia, and its continuation of September 12 off Navarin, reached me on the 9th of this month; it is therefore clear the Turkish expedition was when you wrote, in Navarin and Modon. I trust there they will remain till the force employed against them will be of that nature that the Turks will not think of coming out for fear of the result. You will receive the official orders to endeavour to get the Pacha of Egypt and his son to withdraw the troops and ships, but the forces must be on board the Egyptian ships. The remainder of the instructions are plain enough, and I only call your attention to the part relating to the Greek vessels carrying *less* than *ten* guns which is most important. I recommend to you again prudence and coolness, and shall be guided by my own judgment; and if I consult any, you may rest assured on all professional points I shall take the opinion of the naval officers of my council, and talk matters over with Captain Spencer, who is my private secretary, and whose abilities and honour will never injure a flag officer. On points of less moment you will receive a letter written by Captain Spencer, and I will take care of Mr. Kerrigan; and shall be most anxious to hear of events as they arise; and ever remain,

Dear Sir, yours most truly,

WILLIAM.

From H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence to Sir E. C.

Admiralty: October 16, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—I had prepared a short public answer to your letter respecting the movement of the Turkish fleet of September 10 and 12, which I have had copied by Captain Spencer, and which I sign because I have burnt the original, considering, by the delay of the messenger, material alterations would have taken place in your instructions.

I had headed the original letter according to the then resolution of the Cabinet, and have only to remark that more restrictive measures respecting the capture of vessels employed for Turkish purposes are added in the public letters you will receive.

Thus situated, I have only to call your serious attention to the orders now sent, and to assure you I have read with equal satisfaction both your public and private letters, and

feel confident you will do all that prudence, firmness, and discretion will dictate.

Recollect I wish you well; and when I want advice I shall take it from the honourable minds of Sir George Cockburn, Sir William Hope, and Captain Spencer, who, like myself, are aware of the singular and delicate position in which you are placed by the peculiar service on which you are now employed.

I am happy to add the 'Warspite,' commanded by Captain William Parker, will soon join you.

Believe me, dear Sir, yours truly,

WILLIAM.

From Sir E. C. to the Admiralty.

'Asia,' at sea: September 11, 1827.

SIR,—Although the great delay and inconvenience occasioned to the naval service by the quarantine regulations at Malta had induced me to think with others, that it would be desirable to form a depôt at one of the Ionian Islands, a short visit to those ports in my way to the Levant led me to reverse that opinion. The forcible reasoning of Commander Ross on the details, so clearly stated in the accompanying letter, are, I think, sufficient to decide the question. And I beg now to submit to H.R.H. the Lord High Admiral, my conviction that it is not advisable to pursue the plan meditated. Adverting, however, to my letter of June 13 last, respecting a hospital and receiving ship, I beg to suggest for H.R.H.'s consideration that such a ship might be made a store-ship for ships in the Levant also. The comparative pecuniary expense of such a ship can be readily calculated by the department to which such matters belong. But when I tell H.R.H. that the lives of some of the crews of the small vessels have evidently been saved and their recovery effected, by their removal to the sick bay of the 'Asia,' he will see that in that respect only, the use of such a ship would be of primary importance. For purposes of this sort I have hitherto had recourse to the inferior accommodation of a common transport. Such a ship as I propose, by bringing stores from England, and subsequently conveying stores and provisions to the ships in the Archipelago, without the necessity of convoy, would I should think more than repay the expenses of her outfit.

I have, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From Sir E. C. to the Admiralty.

'Asia,' at sea: September 11, 1827.*

SIR,—You will inform H.R.H. the Lord High Admiral, that on the 7th inst. at night when off Egina I received despatches from H. E. Mr. S. Canning, dated August 31, announcing that the Porte had refused the mediation proposed by the Allied Ambassadors and that the time was now come for acting on the second instruction emanating from the Treaty. I then proceeded with the force under my orders off Hydra for the purpose of preventing the reported approach of the Turkish expedition against that island. But on the evening of yesterday being informed that the Turkish fleet had proceeded towards Navarin with the 'Glasgow' frigate watching their movements according to my orders, I bore up for that place with the 'Genoa,' 'Albion,' and 'Dartmouth,' fearing that if I waited any longer for the French squadron, it would be too late to stop the landing of the reinforcements. I sent the 'Jasper' immediately that I knew of the Greek assent to the declaration, with a despatch to Rear-Admiral De Rigny, which was delivered, in the absence of the Rear-Admiral, to the senior officer of the French ships at Paros: and I also wrote to him again on the 9th inst. announcing my receipt of the Porte's refusal of the mediation, copies of which letters I have the honour to enclose for H.R.H.'s information; but I am still uninformed of his proceedings.

I have, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From Sir E. C. to the Admiralty.

'Asia,' off Navarin: September 12, 1827.†

SIR,—You will inform his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral that I arrived here last night, and that upon a good reconnoissance this morning I found the whole of the Turkish force collected according to the enclosed list. As it appears they arrived here on the 9th I should not, under any circumstances, have been able to intercept them.

After obtaining the communication with the Corfu detachment I shall probably return towards the Levant.

I have, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

* Received October 7. † Received October 7.

From Sir E. C. to the Admiralty.

'Asia,' off Navarin: September 12, 1827.*

SIR,—Since my letter of this day was closed, I have seen the Hon. Captain Maude of the 'Glasgow,' whom I had employed to watch the motions of the Turco-Egyptian fleet. From having been much at Alexandria, and knowing the persons of the French officers embarked in the Pacha's ships, to which he had approached very near within these few days, he is fully persuaded that their having retired as stated in the enclosed report, is unfounded. I think it necessary that the Lord High Admiral should be aware of this circumstance, because since Rear-Admiral De Rigny told me he could influence this important part of the equipment, which would have neutralised the expedition altogether, it is difficult to account for his not having done so.

I have, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

Navarin reconnoitred by the 'Dartmouth': September 12, 1827.

The Egyptian ships appeared in excellent condition, with accommodation ladders, and one corvette with scrubbed hammocks triced up at the yard arms.

Two ships of the line with poops, and two without; the latter, perhaps, may be double-banked frigates, but they have two yellow streaks. Some very fine frigates, and amongst them was an Austrian schooner.

A hutted encampment on the beach at Modon—another with a great many troops dressed in red. Not a gun to be seen on the fortifications at the latter place.

Spoke a brig, one of the prettiest things possible, mounting eighteen guns, and eight brass swivels on each side, in beautiful order. The men were at quarters, tompions out, and all the brass work as bright as any ever seen, with bright copper aprons for the locks on the guns.

From Sir E. C. to Lord Dudley.

'Asia,' off Navarin: September 13, 1827.

I was too much pressed for time, my dear lord, yesterday, to send you more than a public letter,† fearing by delay I might be too late for the steamboat, which in a regular course will leave Zante to-morrow for Corfu. Nor, indeed, need I have written now but for the desire which I have to let you know not only what I do in fulfilment of the Treaty, but the

* Received Oct. 7. † Acknowledged by Lord Dudley's letter of Oct. 16.

reasons which guide me. It appeared to me that the interception of the expedition from Alexandria would at once put an end to further operations on the part of the Turks in the Morea. It is not, however, clear to me that the direction to prevent supplies &c., being thrown upon the coast of Greece, authorises a prevention of supplies to places in the Adriatic, which, like Modon, have continued in their hands, and which without such aid might starve. I should certainly have been glad to have had the opinion of my colleague upon this point before I acted; and it would certainly have been of great moment to have the help of the four sail of French ships of the line to give the Turk an excuse for yielding, which he could not have made out, I think, if opposed to our three only, with one accompanying frigate. But as I know nothing of him or his intentions, and as to be done at all the thing must be done quickly, I made up my mind immediately I was informed of the fleet coming this way, and pushed for this place. Their being all snug in port when I arrived *I* may perhaps justly consider a piece of good fortune; but yet, having prepared for the worst, and being determined to go to extremities if I failed in verbal persuasion, I must confess I felt a little disappointed at having that determination wasted.

Now, my good friend, as the lawyers say, 'this is my case:' and as I may possibly be again so situated, I ask for your judgment on it. *I did* rely upon De Rigny stopping the Egyptian division by the influence which he said he had and would exert over the French officers, by whom it is entirely managed. Some will think the letter of his interpreter was meant to deceive me into this belief, when he did not intend to fulfil the expectation, and few will think he could appoint different places of rendezvous, at which he was not to be found, without meditating delay when the ambassadors wanted expedition.

He has, however, to explain to his masters what he has been about; and they being sincerely desirous of executing the Treaty will, I conclude, either judge as we do . . . . or think me blameworthy for proceeding so differently. It is not my business to question him personally as to his conduct or his motives, or I should be disposed to address him as Richard the Third does Stanley in the play—'Cold friend to me, what did you in the north, when you should serve your sovereign in the west?' He is to me quite incomprehensible: for some time ago, in prospect of this Treaty, he said (as I was told) that he should put himself under my orders; and now that the service requires his doing so, there

is every appearance of his shirking the opportunity of acting with me. You are aware that it would not be very satisfactory to me to have under my orders a man such as this, or, indeed, any one not amenable to our Articles of War; and the only result which I can foresee from the junction of our forces, if not for the mere purpose of inducing the Turk to immediate acquiescence, for which it is well calculated, will be (I cannot profess to say it with humility) their learning a lesson which it is not good policy to give them.*

September 15.

I am not yet aware of what may be the object of the Turkish commander, now that his forces have reached this, their first destination; nor am I sure that it is within my instructions, the preventing communications between this and the Gulf of Lepanto, by vessels which can certainly by degrees convey all the supplies they require. This would approach nearly to a blockade of the Grecian ports: and yet, seeing that they have now the means of pushing their advantages, I feel much disposed to interrupt all such communications. If I should find my colleague's opinion to accord with mine I should act on it without hesitation; and if he were here to overawe the Turk, I would push away back to settle matters with the Greek Government, where I am much wanted. Cochrane hoisted American colours to us at a distance as we came into the Adriatic; but by his subsequent proceeding we made him out. He appeared to watch us so as to make out our motions, and then to stand back towards the Levant: he had nothing with him. Although it is quite impossible to over-estimate Mr. Canning's loss, it will give general satisfaction that the same system is likely to be pursued. I shall make this known to the Greeks immediately, as they were apprehensive to the contrary.

Yours, &c.,

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

From Lord Dudley to Sir E. C. †

Foreign Office, Oct. 16, 1872.

MY DEAR SIR EDWARD,—Your letters of August 10, 22, and 26, and of September 3 and 5 reached me on the 1st inst., and that of September 13 on the 7th inst.

* These expressions of distrust, which were used before Admiral De Rigny was personally known to Sir E. C., are inserted in order to show the serious difficulties of the situation of the English Admiral before he had practical proof of the co-operation of the French and Russian squadrons. In subsequent letters ample justice is done to the cordial support received from both Admirals De Rigny and Heiden.

† Received at Malta November 8, 1827.

It is almost superfluous to tell you how much I am gratified by the entirely friendly and confidential tone of these valuable communications. When you and I were lounging about only a few months ago, building castles—some at Brighton, and some in the air—we certainly neither of us expected that we should become connected in so important a transaction as that now going on in Greece. I only wish that I were able to perform my part as well as you are sure to perform yours. In the meantime it is a great comfort to feel sure from previous acquaintance as to the character, inclinations, and personal good-will of the individual with whom one is dealing. Your donation* to the Greeks is worthy of your liberality and good feeling; but under the present circumstances I do not think I should do right in making use of it. Such a contribution from a man in your most prominent station, for such a purpose, would bear too warlike a character. I am very sorry that you are not better satisfied with De Rigny. Ten to one you are right. Yet the French Government certainly think very well of him, and believe themselves to be doing the best in their power to serve the cause by employing him. We understand that he has joined you, and I am not without hope that he may gain ground in your opinion upon further acquaintance.

The instructions which go out to you along with this letter, are calculated to save you from what is most painful in the discharge of an important public duty—any doubts as to the limits of it. The principle I should recommend you to bear in mind, as the key to any difficulties that may still present themselves to you, is that we are not at war—that we do not desire to be at war—but that what we aim at is to part the combatants.

The favour which our regulations show the Greeks, is only a natural and just consequence of their having accepted those propositions on our part, which have been so peremptorily and insolently rejected by the Turks.

The conduct of the neutrals, especially the Austrians, has been provoking enough. But, whatever we may be driven to by and bye, we are as yet in no condition to exercise belligerent rights. Therefore we must conduct ourselves cautiously, according to the tenor of your secret instructions.

We are, as you may suppose, all anxiety to know what passes at Navarin. Upon an event already passed, and which will be quite a matter for history, I will not hazard a

* Sir E. C.'s offer of 100*l.* to the subscription for the Greeks.

conjecture. Whatever sense, firmness, zeal, and skill can do, may, I know, be expected of you.

Believe me, &c., &c.,

DUDLEY.

Sir E. C. to Lady C.

Off Navarin: September 13, 1821, 10 P.M.

I believe it is well for me individually that this fleet reached the port before we came up with them, although it certainly is bad for the Greeks. I am not sure that a port of their own, and in the Adriatic, was contemplated by the instruction to prevent such an expedition going to the Greek coast. I could not have been in time to stop it, had I known where it was, and started immediately after receiving my instructions. Therefore I have done no wrong by coming here as I might have done in some people's eyes if I had succeeded in intercepting it, and my so doing might have produced war or some other violence in the Sultan: in which case I should have had all the blame to myself. As it is, I have shown my readiness to act, whilst the French ships have remained in port: and De Rigny, after telling me he could and would influence the French officers to retire from the Egyptian ships, which they entirely manage, has not done even that part of his duty. Nor, indeed, can I divine what on earth he has been doing; for his commodore at Paros with those ships, does not seem to know more than I do what has become of him: nor has he any power to move without special orders from his chief. All people cry out to me 'Treachery!' but I think it is inefficiency to the present purpose, which is something different from mere diplomacy and intrigue.

September 15.

I begin to think I shall continue in this sea: I certainly should if I could get De Rigny here to communicate with as I am instructed.

I have been obliged to take strong measures with the Greek Government, or rather Tribunals, for unjustly judging our vessels, and to use strong language in doing it; and thus it is in all quarters. I wish the Sultan would declare war, as it would simplify matters at once. You did not know that Lord Dudley's letter, with the Treaty, is addressed to me for execution by name, 'as a proof of His Majesty's esteem and benevolence.' These words, and others of the same tenor, are for the Allies, you should understand, more

than for me personally. I would give much to be with you in your lovely scenery (Bagni di Lucca); but how much soever yours, I must be at present more my country's.

E. C.

Sir E. C. to Sir Frederick Adam at Corfu.

'Asia,' off Navarin: September 15, 1827.

The 'Philomel' delivered to me last night, my dear Adam, all your very welcome budget; and I read till my eyes almost refused their office, before I went to my cot: not that I had the smallest difficulty in *reading* every part of your communication, but that it was so valuable to me I could not resist going well through it. To be sure I had dwelt on the small and closely written mass of letters from Lady C. and my daughter, until I was hardly fit for other subjects; but I knew it was quite necessary for me to do so, to become able properly to abstract my mind. I have endeavoured to make my two masters, the Duke of Clarence and Lord Dudley, and indeed my third master, Mr. S. Canning, acquainted, not only with all my proceedings, but with the springs which give them motion. By this means they will be able to calculate upon the future, and to give me such advice and instruction as occasion requires: and it is their fault if they suffer me to go wrong by neglecting to do so. As to myself, adopting to the best of my judgment the ideas of our Government, and being determined to do my duty zealously and faithfully, I rely upon working through all the difficulties which I well know must encumber me let them give me what support and assistance they may. My mind, I will own to you, has been and will often be so loaded, that sleeping and waking sometimes seems to it the same. But as, by great care, I retain my 'bodily power,' I fear not being able to stand well up to my work. It would be a great boon to me if I could have you at my elbow now and then, when I want the aid of a sound head and a comprehensive mind to help me through a diplomatic dilemma. With this great expedition at Navarin, embracing probably all the means the Sultan could command, a great part of our united strength must watch its movements. Now I want your opinion, whether detached communications hence to the Gulf of Lepanto, should or should not be permitted. I had prepared the letter of which I will send you a copy, ready to send to the Turk if I had overtaken the fleet. My impression is, that even now it would be well to write and tell him I must impede his proceedings. But where is my

colleague, with whom I am to consult, and without whose being so consulted, *right* may become *wrong*? In extreme cases, such as my trying to overtake this fleet, I must, as I did on this occasion, judge for myself. Is the intercepting partial supplies from one Turkish possession to another, a case in which I ought so to decide in his absence? Now, my good friend, in giving me your opinion, you will recollect that I do not make you at all responsible, and ask and receive it only '*en ami*.' The Sultan having refused our mediation *peremptorily*, as Mr. S. C. says, I think less hesitation is required; and, certainly, if any evident force were now to come within my net, I should convey it at once to some Turkish place in Asia out of harm's way. But it is evident that partial supplies may be sent on those clever-looking brigs, one of which made a tack close to the 'Dartmouth,' and then wore round her, on the day of our arrival. I have not that fear of Russia which others have. A bear cannot resist this temperature without changing his nature.

Ever yours,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From Sir Frederick Adam to Sir E. C.

Corfu: September 19, 1827.

MY DEAR CODRINGTON,—Before I enter on your letter received to-day, I must make clear an expression in my letter of yesterday, the one marked 'secret.' I say in it, 'the Greeks are at liberty therefore to commit such hostilities against their enemies,' &c. I mean that they are at liberty, so far as the armistice they agreed to is concerned, for that they are released from its effects by the refusal of the Turks: but we are bound 'to prevent all collision between the belligerent parties' by the Treaty,—so that the liberty of acting hostilely on the part of the Greeks is only so far as that the armistice is no longer binding on them; but the Treaty is binding on us, and we are to prevent such hostile acts.

You shall have my opinion, my dear Codrington, on the points you mention, without any reserve: and if there can be any responsibility on me, that consideration will not make me a bit less ready to give it, though it will have the effect of making me weigh with more attention all circumstances before I announce it. Your situation is one of great difficulty, and is augmented by your having to act with a colleague who keeps himself aloof from you, to say nothing of the various circumstances in his conduct which appear very singular. I regret very much that I did not make notes

from your instructions; and if you see no objection to it, I would ask you for a copy of those instructions. I mean those which Cradock brought, and which were conveyed to you by the 'Ariadne'; because all I have to found my opinion upon is the Treaty, for I cannot venture to form it upon my indistinct recollection of the instructions. Your question is, 'Is the interrupting partial supplies from one Turkish possession to another a case in which you ought to decide in the absence of your colleague?' My answer is, I think you certainly ought to decide such question in the absence of your colleague; and you ought to do so on this ground—You are on the spot from whence only the carrying on of belligerent operations on the part of the Turks by sea can take place; and it would be nullifying the whole object of the Treaty, if such operations were to take place because your decision could not be given without your colleague's presence, who, so far as you know, might be present to join in the decision. This seems to me quite reason enough, though more might be adduced, if I had time, or it was necessary to enter on all the reasons. But 'the greatest is behind.' Supposing you ought to decide alone, what ought to be the nature of that decision? Here the words of the Treaty are, Art. 2, Secret. —'En empêchant autant qu'il sera en leur pouvoir toute collision entre les parties belligérantes'—but the measures to be taken depend on the 'instructions éventuelles.' As far as I recollect the instructions, I should say this case is not provided for; and therefore the Treaty must become your guide. To prevent collision is the particular mode in which the general object of the Treaty is to be attained. Now, one or two small vessels going to a garrison occupied by the Turks, hardly can be interpreted in the sense of the Treaty. What such vessels can carry may be sufficient only to replace the necessary consumption of the garrison; and therefore I should say, do not prevent one or two vessels going to a particular point; but as the means of *collision* consists in the means of subsistence—if many vessels in succession attempt to go to such point, don't allow it,—*the more don't allow* many vessels at once to go to such point: because, besides that they will carry supplies for enabling the execution of active operations, they are of themselves the means of carrying into effect hostile operations which it is your business, conjointly with your colleagues, or *alone*, to prevent. Much more, I certainly should be of opinion that, if any force comes within your reach they must be conveyed elsewhere, and away from the immediate theatre of war. This last is clearly within the meaning of the Treaty—it is, I believe, within the

letter (certainly by the intent) of your instructions: and the peremptory tone of the Porte, as communicated to you by Mr. Canning, bears you out. I hope I have given my opinion clearly on these points. It is the same reasoning which made me write to you yesterday, though the case of Lord Cochrane's attempt on Albania would be a clear act of hostility—and as such to be prevented.

I am unwilling to ask you for a frigate here, because I know how much you must require all the force you can dispose of; but until this operation of Lord Cochrane's is over, and until we see something of the result of the present state of matters in Albania, the 'Alacrity' alone is hardly efficient for us. I know you will give this all the consideration you can.

Ever yours sincerely,

FREDERICK ADAM.

From Sir F. Adam.

(*Private.*)

September 19, 1827.

MY DEAR C.,—I have closed my other letter, but it occurs to me, that by letting one or two small Turkish vessels go, the Turks may argue thus, 'Then these vessels will be taken by a superior force of the enemy; and if you let us go only in this small force you will be responsible for our safety, and must guarantee it to us.'

Then perhaps the safe thing is to let nobody go, and thus you effectually prevent collision, and you approach the faster to the great object of the Treaty, putting an end to the 'lutte sanglante;' but if this line be adopted towards the Turks, we are bound to act with equal energy towards the Greeks, and must prevent Lord Cochrane. It has occurred to me to say this.

Ever yours,

F. ADAM.

Sir E. C. to Mr. S. Canning.

'Asia,' off Navarin: September 16, 1827.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform your Excellency that when off the Gulf of Napoli on the evening of the 10th inst., I learned by enquiry of a Greek brig of war that the Turco-Egyptian fleet was proceeding to the Adriatic. Therefore without longer waiting for Rear-Admiral De Rigny I pushed forward to intercept them. Upon arriving off Navarin and Modon on the 12th I found them at anchor. Captain Fellowes of the 'Dartmouth' counted their numbers as in

the margin.* An Ionian vessel which came out of Navarin this morning reports differently: whilst Captain Maude of the 'Glasgow,' whom I had sent to observe their movements (in consequence of not receiving any account of their proceedings as I was led to expect from Rear-Admiral De Rigny), reports that they left Marmorice Bay, in all 120 sail, and that not above 85 entered these ports. It is said they mean to attack all the remaining holds in the Peloponnesus simultaneously, and Hydra also. I shall send information of my position to the senior French officer at Paros, to be conveyed to Admiral De Rigny wherever he may be. I hardly expect to see Count Heiden during the month of September; but I shall be very glad of the reinforcement of the Russian squadron.

I have, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

To Mr. Stratford Canning.

'Asia,' off Navarin: September 16, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—Although I have not much to add to my public letter, I wish to make you aware not only of my movements but the motives by which they are guided. It is not clear that we are to prevent all supplies being sent to places absolutely Turkish and in these seas; I should have gladly taken my colleague's opinion. But as I had been expecting him in vain for some time, and as the whole future events seemed to me to turn upon this expedition, I decided at once on intercepting them if possible. It appears, however, that if I had known precisely their movements when I first received your instructions arising from the refusal by the Porte of our mediation, I could not have arrived here so soon as they did. At first I meditated returning to the eastward; but presuming that when the knowledge of this event shall reach him, Admiral De Rigny will come down here, I have decided on continuing in such a situation as will enable me to watch their further proceedings. The 'Dryad' frigate in coming to join me (as she has just done from England) yesterday communicated with Lord Cochrane

* 4 line of battle ships.
15 frigates.
17 corvettes.
24 brigs and transports.

Total, 60
3 flags at the main.
1 flag at the fore; encampment on the beach.

some thirty miles to the south-westward. He has several brigs, &c., with him, and said that upon the arrival of some more fire vessels, &c., he intended to make an attempt on the Turkish fleet. All this, as you will see, added to a report which Captain Maude has just brought me from Coron, of the Turkish commander being determined to force his way, in execution of his Sultan's orders, puts me into a somewhat critical situation. Under these circumstances, and in consideration of the Turks refusing, whilst the Greeks have accepted our mediation, I may perhaps be *out of the way* if I should find Lord C. about to pursue the plan he mentions. But if the Turkish fleet should put to sea with any other purpose than to return to their own shores, I shall consider it the case contemplated in the instructions, and oppose their proceedings to the utmost of my power. If, however, any circumstances should arise to occasion their desire to quit the Morea and return to a Turkish port, I shall protect them in such a movement from any interference on the part of the Greek navy. I meditate communicating to the Turkish Admiral my intention to prevent these hostile movements by the ships under his orders: and I may probably do the same to the Commander of an Austrian vessel of war, which with some transports under the same flag, is said to form part of the Expedition. The Greek Provisional Government, or at all events, the Marine Tribunal, is awed by the piratical rabble at Egina to such a degree, that I have been obliged to arm Captain Hamilton with an order not to submit any more English vessels to their adjudication. Since it is the firm conviction of Captain Maude, who has been much at Alexandria, and who has observed the management of the Egyptian vessels both there and at sea when off this port, that they are still directed by French officers, I have suggested to Lord Granville the propriety of the French Government directing them to retire. Whether Admiral De Rigny did or did not send them orders to this effect, it is very material that the measure should now be enforced if possible.

I have, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

I need not say how sincerely I join in the general sorrow occasioned by the death of Mr. Canning at this important moment. I send you the latest newspaper which has reached me. I feel very anxious to find the 'Rifleman' has been of the comfort to you, which I hoped would result from her going to Tenedos.

To H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence.

'Asia,' off Navarin: September 17, 1827.

SIR,—Although I have written so lately to your Royal Highness by way of Corfu, I will not let the 'Chanticleer' sail for England without informing you that I am still without any news, either of Admiral de Rigny or his ships. I mentioned also in my last letter, that I should probably return towards the Levant; but as it appears to me that previous to any attack on Hydra a movement will be made towards the Gulf of Lepanto, I have decided on remaining here to watch the proceedings of the Turkish commander. Your Royal Highness will judge by my public letter, of the inefficiency of the 'Asia's' crew for her increased arming, and for manning the two tenders also; and a comparison with her sister the 'Ganges,' not so heavily armed, will show how short she would be in comparative number, if she were not also 40 short of her allotted peace complement, which we have little chance of making up here. I must also observe to Your Royal Highness that the mode in which she was manned will cripple her for the whole station, an injury for which the late circular of Your Royal Highness (a document, on which I shall publicly enlarge hereafter), I am glad to say, will be a remedy, as applied to the fittal of other ships, although it may come too late for this. Had we been allowed to go about it in our own way, according to the above circular, we should have been as well manned as any ship which ever left England, and sooner ready into the bargain. But the order, of which I enclose a copy, came over us like a blight, and drove away all the 'Sybille's,' 'Thetis's,' 'Diamond's,' &c., who had just returned from foreign service, and naturally preferred going to see their friends before they again left the country. And to complete the evil, we were filled up by *disposables*, in other words, the refuse of the streets of Liverpool, who entered merely to prevent starving. Your Royal Highness may judge of these by the nephew of Mrs. Admiral Poki, of Otaheite, being one of the number: and who, not being deemed unfit by survey, took the opportunity of relieving the service by desertion. Although this system was prevalent whilst ——— was in the situation he still holds, I feel myself justified in mentioning it in confidence to Your Royal Highness, in justice to myself and to Captain Curzon, whose exertions, in filling the ship under such circumstances do him great credit, although he was goaded all the while as if he had neglected his duty. I

have also to complain of the failure of all our ironwork, and of the inferiority of the cordage which comes to this squadron through the Malta yard. I fear the Navy Board imagine that, in this nominally fine climate, we have no bad weather. On the contrary, I know of no country in which there is more wear and tear of every material in a man-of-war, animate or inanimate. The variety of winds, and having sometimes three little gales of wind and three calms in the same day, keeps the work always going: officers and men are exposed to more wear; from sciroccos, and such changes. We have had burning winds off the land of a temperature of 95°, which has cracked the panels of the bulkheads, and has twisted our furniture to pieces. But I will release Your Royal Highness from such grievances, by again assuring you not only of my own, but of the general desire to overcome them by increased zeal in the fulfilment of our several duties.

I have, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From Sir E. C. to Lady C., at Florence.

Off Navarin: September 18, 1827.

. . . . . .

Does not this show you are unnecessarily anxious? Anxious you must be, no doubt; all I ask is that you obey the admirable precept of our friend Sydney Smith, and do not give yourself pain for which you have no reason. Of all my brother officers, the last who would be sent to this present service is the one the newspapers have haunted you with. No, no; let what force soever be sent here now, it will fall to my lot to wield it, unless I fail in mind or body, of which I feel no symptoms. Thus, then, let this quiet your nerves, and only devote more anxiety to the preservation of your own health, for my sake alone, I would say if there were no others, but I will rather say for those dear pledges whose happiness, whose comfort, and whose well-being, at this early age, is dependent on your health. As to newspaper reports, there is hardly one of them referring to me even founded on fact, and even then it would be old newspapers at the best. As to Athens, I could not have done anything in its fate, and Hamilton was deprived of all opportunity of being mixed up with it by the intrigues of the Austrians and French to have credit with the Turk for its surrender. Had I been there I would not have been a party to it without ocular proof of its inability to resist, seeing how much of the future welfare of Greece depended on it. I am told that

General Church *must* be led by somebody, that somebody being at present Kolocotroni, whom I consider as the worst enemy Greece has. All these captains must be put down, and a regular force obedient to the Government be substituted, or the country will never thrive.

September 19.

We are now what Lord Nelson called 'in harbour,' lying with all our sails furled, a practice admired much by my companions, who find it an agreeable wind-up of a few hours' evolutionary exercise.

Yours, E. C.

The possibility of the Turkish fleet putting to sea, rendered it necessary to communicate to the Turkish Admiral at once the orders for preventing any attack upon Greece. The French and Russian squadrons had not then joined.

From Sir E. C. to his Excellency the Turkish Admiral commanding the Ottoman Forces in the Port of Navarin.

'Asia,' at sea: September 19, 1827.

I have the honour of informing your Excellency that in consequence of a Treaty signed by Great Britain, France, and Russia, those Allied Powers have agreed to unite their forces for the purpose of preventing the transfer of Turkish and Egyptian succours of men, arms, vessels, and warlike stores to any part of Greece or the Greek Islands. This measure has been adopted as much for the real good of your Sultan, as for the benefit of all nations trading in the Archipelago. And the Allied Governments have taken the humane precaution of sending a very large force to carry it into effect, in order to prevent an opposition on the part of the Turkish commanders which would not only lead to their own destruction, but to the permanent injury of the Sultan himself. It would be as painful to me, as I am sure it would be to my own Sovereign (whose great object it is to spare the further effusion of human blood), to be driven to the employment of force on this occasion. I therefore earnestly intreat that you will not offer to resist a decree, which it is utterly impossible for you to prevent being carried into full execution; for it is my duty to apprise you, that although it is my earnest desire to bring about a cessation of this cruel warfare by persuasion, I am ordered to proceed to the greatest extremity rather than relinquish the object on which the Allied Powers have determined. If any one shot

should be fired at the British flag on this occasion it will be fatal to the Ottoman fleet.

I have the honour, &c., &c.,

EDWARD CODRINGTON, British Admiral.

Sir E. C. in the 'Asia,' with the 'Genoa' and 'Albion,' arrived off Navarin on September 11, and saw the whole of the Expedition from Alexandria at anchor in the harbour, where it had arrived on September 9. He, with the English squadron, remained off Navarin, anxiously expecting the French squadron; which, however, did not arrive till September 22. In the meantime, on the 19th, whilst thus waiting for his colleague, it became necessary to notify to the Admiral commanding the Ottoman forces in the Port of Navarin, that he would be prevented by force from proceeding to attack any part of Greece. This was done by the note to him of September 19. But, nevertheless, on the 21st, a division of the Turkish portion of the Expedition got under way and came outside Navarin: upon this, the English prepared for battle, and by means of a very light breeze, approached the Turkish force, of which Sir E. C. had determined to prevent any hostile movement towards Greece. At this critical moment Admiral De Rigny appeared with the French squadron. Thus, whatever may have been the intentions of the Turkish portion of the Expedition, it became powerless, and remained under the control of the Allied squadrons, until it was again allowed to rejoin the Egyptian fleet in the harbour, after Ibrahim had agreed to a conference with the Admirals. This re-joining of the Turkish squadron from outside was permitted at the request of Ibrahim, in order to allay any suspicion to which he might be exposed, of negotiating separately in relation to his own Egyptian forces.

To the Commander of the Austrian Vessels in the Bay of Navarin.

H.B.M.S. 'Asia,' at sea: September 19, 1827.

Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Naval Forces in the Mediterranean and

Archipelago, having heard that some vessels of the Emperor of Austria form part of the fleet now in the port of Navarin, acting in hostility to Greece, has the honour of informing the officer commanding such vessels, that he is directed by a Treaty entered into by Great Britain, France, and Russia, to prevent any further succours of men, arms, vessels, and warlike stores from arriving in Greece or the islands in the Archipelago; and that therefore it will not be in the power of the Vice-Admiral to make any distinction between the Austrian and the Turkish ships. Respect for the Imperial flag and the nation with which Great Britain is in alliance, induces the Vice-Admiral to take this mode of preventing a collision which he would most gladly avoid. And if the Austrian Commander should not show equal desire to save the vessels of his Imperial Majesty from the injurious effects of their continuing to act in opposition to the Allied Powers, he alone will become responsible for all the consequences.

Sir E. C. to Lady C.

Off Navarin: September 20.

I have waited for Admiral De Rigny, since we are instructed to consult with each other upon what is best to be done, until I can now with propriety, in my own view of the case, wait no longer; and I have sent the 'Dartmouth' with a letter to the Turkish Admiral, to let him know that I am directed to impede hostile movements, &c., on his part: and I have at the same time warned an Austrian vessel of war which, with two transports loaded with shot, &c., form part of the expedition, that if she continue so to act, she must expect neighbour's fare. The said Austriaco will not like 'Sir Codrighoton,' the better for that; but as the saying is, there will be no love lost. I am just informed of the Turkish ships getting under way, a proceeding to which I am going to put a stop, if the light air we have will permit of my doing so. It is not an agreeable job under the circumstances of having only myself to be implicated in the consequences, which may be hostility with both the Porte and Austria. *N'importe.* I can but do my best under the circumstances, and upon that *you* know full reliance may be placed.

From Admiral De Rigny to Sir E. C.

Smyrne: 10 septembre 1827.

J'ai su positivement, que le 1er septembre la flotte égyptienne était encore en très-grande partie à Macry et à Marmarisse.

Je crois être certain que les Turcs ne pourront approcher de Modon avant 15 jours, et mon opinion dans les circonstances actuelles, tant à cause de la position personnelle de nos ambassadeurs à Constantinople et de l'absence des Russes, serait d'attendre autour d'Hydra la flotte quand elle s'y présenterait, et alors d'agir vigoureusement si elle persistait. . . . Je joins ici quelques gazettes. Vous apercevrez avec un regret, général en France comme en Angleterre, la mort de Mons. Canning. Le baron de Damas mande de Paris, que ce malheur public ne changera rien aux dispositions du Traité.

Les nouvelles de Paris du 18 août portent que Lord Goderich remplace Mons. Canning et que le duc de Wellington reprend le commandement de l'armée. L'escadre russe est positivement partie de Portsmouth le 18 du mois dernier.

Je suis avec la plus grande considération,

Votre très-humble et obéissant serviteur,

H. De Rigny.

Rear-Admiral De Rigny's account of the Turco-Egyptian fleet which left Alexandria August 6, 1827 :—

Pavillon de Constantinople—		
	2 vaisseaux.	
	2 rasés.	
	7 frégates.	
	8 corvettes.	
„ de Tunis—		
	1 frégate.	
	1 corvette.	
„ d'Égypte—		
	3 frégates.	
	7 corvettes.	
	15 brigs.	
	1 schooner.	
Bâtimens de transport et brûlots	49	
	101	du tout.

Les Algériens ne sont pas sortis.

List of the Turco-Egyptian naval force in and off Navarin September 21, 1827 :—

3	ships of the line.
4	double bank frigates.
16	frigates, one of them with Tunisian colours.
19	corvettes.
21	brigs.
63	vessels of war.
40	transports.
103	total.

G. W. H. Fitzroy, Lieutenant.

His Britannic Majesty's ship, 'Asia,' off Navarin:
September 21, 1827.

That his Highness Ibrahim Pacha may have no doubts as to the intention of the Allied Sovereigns, Vice-Admiral Sir E. Codrington, Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's naval force in the Mediterranean, has the honour to send his Highness copies of certain papers on this important subject by which his conduct is guided.* His Highness will see that the admirals commanding the combined forces have no other alternative but to carry the Treaty into full execution whatever may be the consequences.

From Sir E. C. to Lady C.

Off Navarin: September 21.

A large division of this fleet is out of port, and I am working up with a light breeze to get a little more au fait as to their movements. If the rest remain in, it will rather puzzle me, for I cannot dance attendance on both at a time, and my colleague does not appear. I have given a written explanation of what we have to do to each of the captains, and I have this morning made the signal to prepare for battle, so that although not altogether in war trim, thanks to the economy of the late naval administration, we are pretty ready for business. These are times when the feelings of the heart know no reserve, and mine tell me that they are devoted to you and to your children. My doing my duty to my country on this and such occasions is the natural consequence of those feelings, for how can I better honour you than by gaining the esteem of others, and so God bless you.

10 P.M.

I will not go to bed without telling you how fortunate things appear thus far to have turned out for me. Unsupported by either of the allied squadrons, and having with me only two frigates besides the 'Genoa' and 'Albion,' I had made up my mind to impede, coute qui coute, the operations of the Turkish fleet. My plan was to prevent their coming out of Navarin by meeting the first of them at the entrance, and in case of refusal cutting their bowsprit rigging. Current carried us so far to the northward, that they were enabled to get out in the meantime. No longer having hopes

* Extracts from his Orders.

of seeing Admiral De Rigny, I sent in a letter declaratory of my orders, and my intention to enforce them on Turks and also Austrians who actually compose part of the expedition: and all with the prospect of thus possibly producing a war with those two Powers, when my instructions say I must not occasion hostilities, to avoid which *so large a force is united.* After weighing all the pros and cons—having made my decision, and having recorded that decision to my superiors—whilst proceeding to carry it into execution, De Rigny appears to windward of the Turkish fleet of which I am in chase, with his four ships of the line and some frigates; and beyond him the 'Pelican,' the 'Talbot,' and the 'Zebra,' a force which I imagine will induce the Turk to obey; whilst I am relieved of the risk and responsibility also in part, which I had undertaken in fulfilment of my duty. Nor is this all my luck; for Colonel Cradock, who came in the 'Pelican' with a proposal of my making a certain communication to Ibrahim which he considers of importance to the mission on which he came from England, found it comprised in my letters to that Pacha of yesterday and to-day. Even the fleet coming out, now that we have a force to manage them, is a turn of good fortune. For we shall now, probably, see them all together safe back in Alexandria, thus diminishing the power they had in this important situation. So much for to-night. E. C.

If I appear to have devoted much space to letters detailing the state of things previous to the encounter at Patras and the Battle of Navarin, it is because these papers seem to lead up to the situation, and thus justify their insertion. They picture the multiplying difficulties, with their daily growing interest; the aggravation of suspense and anxiety caused by the want of due support; and the weight of responsibility thrown upon one whose sole training had been *professional*, and who was thus unexpectedly placed in a very perplexing and complicated diplomatic situation; and left to face alone not only the diplomatic difficulty, but the material power of a fleet of sixty-three vessels, whose movements he felt himself obliged to control and direct, with only his own small force of English ships. The difficulty of the position unfolds itself in the successive letters; the whole culminating in the dramatic incident of the French Admiral at last appearing with his ships

to windward of the Turkish fleet, just at the critical moment when all had been staked in the cause of duty, and credit or failure, success or reverse, seemed to hang in the balance of Fate. And yet this incident closed only the first act of this very stirring and exciting drama!

APPENDIX.

DEFECTS of H. M. S. 'Orion' after the Battle of Trafalgar:—

[Page 71.]

Fore-mast wounded.
Main-top-gallant-mast shot away.
Main-top-gallant-yard shot away.
Main-top-sail-yard shot away.
Main-top-gallant-studding-boom shot away.
Main-top-mast-studding-boom shot away.
Black strake portrell sperquiting shot through.
Several shot in the wales.
Hanging knee abaft the after port in the wardroom shot away.
Transom and counter timber shot through, officers' cabins.
Rudder casings, &c., injured.
Top timber by the breast-beam of the round house shot through, larboard side.
Staircase frame on the quarter-deck shot away.
Sashes, and sash half-ports in the captain's cabin and wardroom, injured.
Several strakes on the quarter-deck shot through.
Several shot below water's edge.
Anchor stock shot through.
Short stuff between the ports damaged by shot.
Boats in bad condition.
Head ledges carried away.

Captain C. to Admiral Sir Charles Cotton.

[Page 220.]

'Blake,' off Villa Neuva: June 15, 1811.

SIR,—As Captain Adam has informed you of the occurrences at Tarragona during my absence, up to the 5th June, I have only to add that although the French have advanced

their works to within half pistol shot of the lines of the Puerto, besides having entirely destroyed the battery of Francoli and formed a post under the position of the ruins, they have been beaten off with very serious loss on their part in some desperate attempts to storm the Orleans and Saint Josef batteries; and that the Spaniards under General Sarsfield have made several successful sorties with the few troops that could be spared for the purpose. My last letter to you, dated May 15, will have informed you of my intention of proceeding to Valencia and Alicant with General Doyle, and I have now to make known to you the successful result of our visit to those places. Leaving Tarragona on the 16th, we reached Peniscola on the forenoon of the 17th, where, finding the 'Invincible' with four empty transports bound to Carthagena, I directed Captain Adam to remain until he heard further from me. From thence General Doyle wrote to General O'Donnell an account of the situation of Tarragona, and of my detaining Captain Adam at Peniscola in readiness to receive any reinforcements, which he might be pleased to send to that garrison. Upon our arrival at Murviedro we found General O'Donnell had already ordered the embarkation of 2,300 infantry, and 211 artillerymen, &c., &c., which, by the zeal and exertion of Captain Adam, who received 700 of them on board the 'Invincible,' were safely landed at Tarragona on the 22nd.

Delivering to General O'Donnell 2,000 stand of arms, accoutrements, and clothing, to enable him to bring into the field as many of the recruits already trained as would supply the place of the regular soldiers thus detached from his army, we proceeded to Valencia, and landed the remainder of our *cargo*; by which means the troops of General Villa Campo, then dispersed as peasantry for want of arms, were enabled again to take the field; and the corps of Mina, and the Empecinado completed in all the requisites for active warfare, and the army of Aragon thus brought forward to act in concert with the movements of that of Valencia. At Alicant we procured as many necessary materials for Tarragona as the ship would actually stow, besides eighty artillerymen, and a considerable quantity of powder, ball cartridges, lead, &c., &c., sent in the 'Paloma,' Spanish corvette, from Carthagena, in company with a Spanish transport from Cadiz deeply laden with similar supplies. As it was impossible to receive these stores on board the 'Blake,' they were conveyed, at my request, in the 'Paloma,' with the ship under convoy direct to Tarragona. After returning to Valencia, where we landed the additional arms, &c., for the Aragonese army, we moved

on to Murviedro; where the Count of Bisbal proceeded from Valencia to join us in a consultation with his brother, although, on account of his wound, he was very unfit for such a journey. The result of this conference was a determination, on the part of General O'Donnell, to commit to my protection, for the succour of Tarragona, another division of his best troops, under Major-General Miranda, consisting of 4,000 men, whilst he himself would move forward with the remainder of his army to the banks of the Ebro; where, in concert with the Aragonese divisions, he might threaten, and perhaps destroy, the different depôts of General Suchet. I therefore hastened to Tarragona to collect the necessary shipping for the purpose of giving action to these liberal and patriotic intentions. Again fortunately meeting the 'Invincible' on the night of the 6th, I directed Captain Adam to anchor at Peniscola, and wait my return to that rendezvous in company with Captain Pringle, whom I ordered to do the same with the 'Sparrowhawk' and the transport 'William,' whenever he should have landed the mortars, &c., at Valencia, with which he was charged. On the evening of the 7th we reached Tarragona, landed the whole of our cargo in the course of the night, and, after a consultation with General Contreras, again left that anchorage at ten o'clock in the forenoon of the 8th, taking the 'Paloma' along with us. We reached Peniscola on the noon of the 9th, where the 'Invincible' had already anchored with the four transports, and were joined on the 10th by the 'Centaur,' 'Sparrowhawk,' and 'William' transport. From the critical situation of Tarragona, I left orders with Captain Bullen that whatever ships of war might arrive before my return, should join me immediately; and to Captain White's promptness in obeying this order, and consenting, in common with Captain Adam and myself, to receive each a battalion of 800 troops, with the proper proportion of officers, I am indebted for the power of embarking the whole 4,000 on the forenoon of the 11th, and landing them at the garrison of Tarragona during the night of the 12th. The frequent disappointments which the brave Catalonian army had heretofore met with from Valencian promises, made the sight of so extensive and disinterested a reinforcement the more truly welcome, because the less expected; and the admiration which was thus created in the besieged appeared to produce proportionate anxiety on the part of the enemy. As soon as the troops were ready for embarkation at Peniscola, I sent the 'Sparrowhawk' forward to prepare the garrison and also the Marquis of Campo Verde for our arrival, and in conse-

quence of the Marquis's letter in answer, General Miranda requested I would again embark his division for the purpose of joining the Marquis in the neighbourhood of Villa Nueva de Sitges, in order to threaten the flank of the besieging army; and this further service was so speedly executed by means of the boats of the squadron, that the whole division was again safely landed at this place on the evening of yesterday, from whence it marched this morning for Villa Franca, intending to join the Marquis of Campo Verde to-morrow at Igualada. If any further assistance should be wanted off Barcelona than that already stationed there by your order (dated May 30), I shall direct the whole of my attention to the neighbourhood of Tarragona, in readiness for harassing the retreat of the French army if General Suchet should fortunately be obliged to raise the siege, and for re-embarking and restoring to General O'Donnell whatever may remain of the Valencian troops, according to the solemn pledge he exacted from me before he would consent thus to part with the flower and strength of his army. He even went so far as to declare in the presence of General Doyle, Captain Adam, Captain White, and myself, that he considered me as entirely answerable for the safety of the kingdom of Valencia; and that if I should fail in redeeming my pledge, he would resign his command on that particular account. Fully persuaded that the fate of Tarragona depended upon my decision, I felt it my duty to keep both the 'Invincible' and 'Centaur' under my orders until this important point be decided. And I confidently trust that, whatever may be the result, I shall have your sanction for the heavy responsibility which I have undertaken, and of which, I beg to assure you, I feel thoroughly sensible every hour of the day. It is but justice to myself, however, that I should tell you that I did most distinctly warn General O'Donnell, that I could in no case answer for his army if placed under the immediate direction of the Marquis of Campo Verde for any distant inland operations; more particularly as I knew that in addition to his own deficiency in ability, he was surrounded by people whose advice and whose conduct was in no case to be relied on.

I have, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From Admiral Sir Charles Cotton to Captain C.

[Page 221.]

'San Josef,' off Toulon: June 28, 1811.

I highly approve of your detaining the 'Centaur' under all the circumstances of your present situation, and I cannot refrain from thanking you, and all the captains and officers under your orders, for the great assistance you have rendered the brave garrison of Tarragona. I almost despair of ultimate success; but the hope that the reinforcements may arrive in time, and the strong force under Campo Verde in the rear of the besiegers, may yet save the place, &c., &c.

. . . . . .

C. COTTON.

From Captain C. to General O'Donnell.

[Page 230.]

'Blake,' off Tarragona: June 29, 1811.

MY DEAR SIR,—Yesterday evening about six o'clock the French, after making a breach, assaulted the town, and carried it with so little opposition that they were in full possession of the place in the course of half an hour. Upon seeing the enemy begin to collect in their trenches, I ordered all the gunboats and launches of the squadron to push for the Barcelona road, where I knew the garrison would come out in case of failure; and yet such was the precipitation with which the people came out that they were absolutely in the possession of the enemy and marching tamely up the hill, before our boats could reach the shore; some throwing themselves over the walls of the town, others swimming naked towards the shipping, and all (on the east side of the town at least) submitting to be made prisoners or killed by so small a force of the enemy that they might have overpowered them merely with stones. Our boats have saved a few hundreds only, none of which can give us circumstantial information of this disastrous, and I must add disgraceful affair. The enemy set fire to the town directly, and it is now falling rapidly into a mere ruin. I shall proceed to Villa Nueva the moment any wind rises (it is now a calm), and embark your division, if they should not be already embarked in the vessels belonging to Valencia, which I left there with the 'Paloma.'

Nothing was done by the army of the Marquis of Campo Verde, who, I am told, complains that General Miranda did not attack the enemy when ordered by him to do so.

I have, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

Minute of a Conference betwixt Generals Caro and Miranda with General Doyle and myself this day.

[Page 235.]

Off Areñs de Mars: July 9, 1811.

About 8 o'clock Generals Caro and Miranda came on board the 'Blake.' After being seated in the cabin with General Doyle and myself, General Caro begged General Doyle would explain to me that they were come, in consequence of my promise, to request I would embark the division of Valencian troops which I had brought from Peniscola. I desired to know what promise General Caro understood me to have made. He answered, that I would take the above troops back to Valencia. I denied positively that I had made any promise to re-embark them if they should ever join the Marquis of Campo Verde, although I had deeply pledged myself to restore them to General O'Donnell if they joined in a sortie from the garrison, which I was very confident would be decisive of its success. I then referred General Miranda to a similar explanation which I gave to him through General Doyle on the same day after our quitting Peniscola, when he had said he was ordered both by his written instructions and by verbal explanations from General O'Donnell, not to land within the garrison. General Miranda instantly repeated that so he was: upon which General Doyle, to whom he had shown those instructions, jointly with myself, after leaving Tarragona for Villa Nueva when under a difficulty as to how he should proceed, referred him to them again, when it appearing that he was therein positively ordered 'disembarcar en la plaza de Tarragona,' General Doyle stopped.

General Miranda.—'Read on.'

Doyle.—'No, Sir. There is the positive proof of your receiving such an order.'

Miranda.—'Well, but read on.'

Doyle.—'No, Sir. This' (pointing to the paper) 'is the positive proof of your receiving such an order, which we wanted to establish because you positively denied it.'

Upon this General Caro shrugged up his shoulders, said, 'he was not aware of there being any such order,' and General Miranda again requested General Doyle would read on. 'For what purpose'?

Miranda.—'To prove that I was not to shut myself up with the division in the Plaza di Tarragona.'

Doyle.—'There is no occasion, Sir, for any proof of that; for it was a part of the very stipulation made by Captain Codrington when he strongly pledged himself to General O'Donnell.' General D. continued,—

'And now, General Caro, that we have proved to you that General Miranda *had* orders to land in Tarragona, and that Captain Codrington is bound by no such promise as you had imagined, I must inform you that he has been eight days waiting upon the coast with all the ships of war and transports which are wanted for other services, for the sole purpose of embarking these troops: and he desires me to add that in consideration of what is due to the liberal and exemplary assistance afforded by General O'Donnell and Valencia in aid of Tarragona, but not at all on account of any pledge he has been said to have given, he will use the same exertion in re-embarking and restoring the troops which he would have done if so bound by his word of honour.'

General Doyle, through whom this explanation took place, was present on all the occasions referred to, and as much a party to the whole as he could make himself, by offering in his capacity of a General in the Spanish service to head the meditated sortie and re-embark with the troops.

EDWARD CODRINGTON.

Minute of a Message from the Marquis of Campo Verde brought by Colonel O'Ronan, with my answer thereto.

[Page 235.]

Colonel O'Ronan, aide-de-camp to the Marquis of Campo Verde, arrived, and informed me that he came from the marquis who was on his march to this town or Areñs, for the purpose of embarking all the infantry not Catalans, and the whole of the remaining cavalry, leaving his horses on the beach. Colonel O'Ronan said this determination was the result of a junta composed of the Marquis, General St. John, General Caro, General Miranda, the General of Artillery, Brigadier Santa Cruz, Brigadier Pelasco, and General Sarsfield; that after the thing had been proposed and discussed a long time, General Sarsfield was the first to give his vote:

that he rose from his seat and said: 'Any officer who could give such an opinion must be a traitor to his country, and that he and his division would stand or fall with the Principality.' Every other officer was of a contrary opinion, except the Marquis, who thought with General Sarsfield, and yet, it seems, allowed himself to be led on by the other generals; *in short, it appears he had resolved to abandon the Principality! ! !* I told him without hesitation that to embark the Valencians I felt a duty to General O'Donnell, to the kingdom of Valencia, and to the whole nation: but that I felt it equally my duty upon no account to embark the army of Catalonia, and thus become a party concerned in the abandonment of a province which I had been sent to protect; that I must therefore positively decline to embark the Marquis's division, and begged Colonel Ronan to say so. The colonel, who could not venture again on shore lest he should be murdered by the inhabitants of Mataro for having been bearer of a commission to arrest Brigadier Milan about a month ago, sent to the Marquis my answer (as he assures me) as nearly as possible in the terms in which I gave it.

Off Areñs: July 14.

Brigadier Santa Cruz, who is now on board the 'Blake,' says that his vote followed General Sarsfield's, and was 'That the Valencian division should be embarked according to promise, but that the whole of the other troops ought to remain for the defence of the Principality.'

Captain C. to the Marquis of Campo Verde.

[Page 235.]

'Blake,' off Mataro: July 5, 1811.

My Lord Marquis,—I received your letter after reaching Mataro in order to embark the Valencian division, having already waited three days at Villa Nueva for the same purpose. But I have to remind you that by ordering the division out of Tarragona in breach of the terms by which I bound myself when I brought them, you yourself broke the pledge given by me, and dissolved my contract. I said that they might raise the siege by joining in the sorties under General Sarsfield, but that if they landed elsewhere and went out of my sight, I would not engage either for their being of use to the garrison or for their return hereafter. I am the more particular in men-

tioning this because you have used some strong expressions to urge me to that as a duty which I had already done out of regard for General O'Donnell, who made such exemplary efforts to save Tarragona. I shall remain hereabout with the vessels belonging to Valencia, and as many English transports as I can spare for the purpose, until I hear further from General Miranda as to the part of the coast at which he wishes to embark. But as the whole of the ships of war under my orders have other important services to attend to besides this, I must urge your directing the Spanish frigates 'Prueva' and 'Diana,' who have hitherto done scarcely anything for their country, to assist in the embarkation and to receive as many troops as they can carry.

I have, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

Captain C. to C. R. Vaughan, Esq.

[Page 252.]

'Blake,' Mahon: December 14, 1811.

MY DEAR VAUGHAN,—As I have said a good deal in my letters to Mr. Wellesley upon the subject of raising corps in this part of the Peninsula, in which, perhaps, I may differ from many others, I am anxious to be clearly understood both by him and by you, and by no means intend to say that the formation of corps upon a plan similar to that practised in Portugal would not have equally good effects, but that it is not so easy to put it in practice here as it has been there, and can never be productive of similar benefit, unless undertaken in a very different mode and by different sort of people from those at present entrusted with it. We have no man here, who, raising the corps himself, would head it as a colonel and serve under the Spanish generals. . . . . If an English division had come here at the time of the dispersion, under our friend Graham, for instance, or any general fit for the command, Eroles, and probably Sarsfield also, would have rejoiced in serving under him; but I doubt if any man of rank and character would be contented to serve under either of the gentlemen endeavouring to form corps in this part of the Peninsula. But since Lacy has established his popularity from his very successful arrangements, and both Eroles and Sarsfield are at the head of the two principal divisions of his army, I do not see how any alteration can be advantageously made at present. I am clearly convinced

that it would be better to induce the Spaniards to fight their own battles if possible, provided they would do it well, than to attempt to take the lead where we could only send a small proportional force. And as far as Catalonia is concerned, I really think it might be done successfully by the employment of officers from the army of Lord Wellington, of the Engineer, Quartermaster-General, and the Adjutant department, merely to instruct them, without any oblique interest whatever arising from this temporary employment. These officers would be of most essential service in thereby being able to form a correct opinion as to what may be hereafter expected from the resistance which these people will, I doubt not, continue to make in spite of even further reverses. Although I offer my opinion, believe me I have not the vanity to think it otherwise than extremely liable to error, even upon a subject more immediately within the line of my own professional judgment: and I therefore trust you will set me right whenever you see occasion. I am aware, also, that I have formed my own opinions without knowing the sentiments of Mr. Wellesley or the communications which may have taken place betwixt him and Colonel Green: and that, therefore, the observations which I make can only have the merit of coming from one contiguous to the scene of action, and anxiously desirous of promoting that cause to which his professional duty has made him a party. The liberality and energy with which the movements of this fleet are now directed has established already the popularity of our chief; and if the French fleet should come within his grasp, annihilation will be the order of the day. I shall relieve Adam again as soon as I can get ready, and he will return to his former station upon the coast of Murcia. I have sensations which make me doubt my being able to continue much longer in this climate.

Believe me yours, with great regard,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

Extract of a letter from Captain Codrington to Admiral Sir E. Pellew.

[Page 257.]

January 26, 1812.

On the morning of the 19th I went to Rens by desire of General Lacy, to be present at the final arrangement for the attack of Tarragona that night. I found the commanding officers belonging to the different corps assembled; and the order of attack was scarcely made known to them, before an

aide-de-camp of the Baron d'Eroles announced the actual arrival of the French at Cambriles from Tortosa (having left Valencia after its surrender) amounting, according to a letter previously received, to about 3,000 men. *'A las armas'* cried the Baron of Eroles, with an animation which seemed to have a suitable effect on all the officers present; and I do not believe more than half an hour had elapsed before the whole of the division, consisting of between 5,000 and 6,000 men, were on the ground and ready to march. As I had ordered a boat to Salou with twenty barrels of powder for the army, and as I was anxious to render what assistance might be in my power, I made an attempt to regain my ship, accompanied by an orderly-dragoon. But after proceeding about three miles, we were chased back by a party of French cavalry, which we met at the crossing of the road. Upon my return I found the troops advancing on the road to Tarragona, in order to cut the enemy's line of march; the Baron of Eroles putting himself at the head of about seventy cuirassiers, to reconnoitre their strength and position, whilst General Lacy directed the movements of the respective corps in readiness for the intended attack. We had scarcely reached the road from Cambriles to Tarragona when the Baron brought in prisoners two French cuirassiers, who stated that their general (Lafond) had reached the latter place in safety, accompanied by some dragoons, leaving the infantry (amounting to about 800) just by in Villa Secca. General Lacy ordered the Regiment of Busa to attack them immediately, and directed other corps to surround the town and prevent their escape. The enemy being advantageously posted behind the walls of the village, and that single regiment being much inferior to them in numbers, after considerable loss in killed and wounded, including amongst the latter, and very severely, their gallant Colonel Reding, they were obliged to retire; but the regiment intended for their support coming up, forced the French who had advanced in a compact body, to retire in their turn; and being attacked in their rear by the Baron, they could never effectually rally, notwithstanding the effort they made, accompanied by a general cheer. Despair was now visible in their conduct, and one or two discharges from a field piece which just then reached the ground, occasioned the surrender of all who remained alive, amounting to above 600. I judge the number of the enemy dead and dying which I saw in the field to amount to 200, that of the Spaniards bearing no proportion whatever. It seems that, having information by some spy of our landing, at the time one party of the dragoons chased me, another proceeded to Salou, where they made

prisoners of Captains Pringle and Flin, who were walking near the beach, and of Lieutenant Castle, belonging to this ship, who was waiting on shore with the powder, the boats and boats' crews having effected their escape. These officers, who were guarded close in the rear of the French during the whole of the battle, after being plundered even of part of their clothes, bear witness to their extreme pusillanimity on the approach of danger, and to their severe loss, both in the field and in the houses in which they sought refuge, owing to the superior dexterity of the Spanish fire. I have given you this little affair in detail, because it evinces considerable improvement in the discipline and organisation of the Catalan army; and I can vouch for the cheerfulness with which they proceeded to the attack, under the belief of the enemy's force being much nearer their equivalent in numbers. The arrangements made by General Lacy appeared to me well calculated to keep up the mutual support requisite on such an occasion, and the whole conduct of the Baron of Eroles particularly animating and exemplary. Nor shall I readily forget the delight he expressed upon liberating my brother officers from the grasp of our mutual enemy.

Notwithstanding the fatigue of the troops, the General still expressed his intention of attacking Tarragona on that night, and we were therefore escorted to our ships about 5 o'clock, and weighed immediately. I stationed the 'Sparrowhawk' off the mole to keep up the communication with the army on that side, and the 'Merope' to the eastward for the same purpose, whilst the 'Blake' was to occupy the attention of the enemy opposite the Milagro. We had scarcely reached the town and opened our fire, when the wind increased to a gale at N.W., and prevented all communication by boats with the shore. We persevered, however, under a press of sail, standing off and on so as to keep up the bombardment until daylight; but the assault was not made, nor could we see any of the Spanish troops in the neighbourhood in the morning. Anxious to afford every encouragement in an enterprise which, besides being of material service to the general cause, would, if successful, have produced me individually such particular satisfaction, we continued to work up under as much sail as we could carry, the next day, in order to communicate, if possible, with the army; until at length, by the mainsail blowing entirely out of the boltrope, other sails splitting, and the barge sinking before we could get the carronade and ammunition out of her, I was driven to the necessity of anchoring for shelter just without range of shot to the eastward of the town. I am still uninformed of the particular cause which

prevented the attack being made either on the 19th or the following night, having had no direct communication with any of the chiefs but by short requests for assistance circuitously conveyed, in consequence of the arrival of various divisions of the enemy in those parts, amounting to 7,000 men.

A few significant lines from General Lacy, which I received on the 23rd, induced me to push for Mataro, which I had nearly reached on the 24th, when a very severe gale from the N. eastward necessarily reduced me to storm staysails; and whilst persevering off Barcelona, in an endeavour to hold our own by keeping the ship's head to the eastward, she was struck by a sea which has started all the timbers and rail of the head, ledges, and carlings, bent the iron rail close in to the bowsprit, drew the chock in the stem which receives the bolt for the bumpkin shroud, carried away the round-house and head-door, and filled the main deck with water, so that the officers were up to their knees in the ward-room. Although both our spars and ropes stood this severe trial without injury, I bore up for shelter at Villa Nueva, where we were about to anchor at 6 P.M. on the 25th, when the 'Merope' made the signal for the enemy upon the road to the westward, and shortly afterwards opened her fire upon them. The gale being over and the wind light, we made all sail and soon began firing also. We observed three waggons disabled and abandoned, and considerable discomfiture amongst the troops, notwithstanding the difficulty we were under from the heavy swell setting directly on shore. Arriving opposite Vendrill, we perceived another party coming from the westward, with cavalry, artillery, &c., amounting to some thousand men, which directed their course inland upon our approach. We were, however, enabled, by giving the guns the greatest elevation, to discharge two or three broadsides before dark, which I trust did them material damage. Since this they have never appeared upon any part of that coast; and I know nothing more of the movements of either army than from the reports of desperate battles having taken place, the result of which is so variously stated that it is impossible to venture an opinion without more authentic intelligence.

&c. &c. &c.

From Don Luis Lacy, to the Commander of the English Naval Forces on the coast of Catalonia.

[Page 258.]

Head Quarters, Areñs de Mar: November 1, 1811.

Should the enemy attempt to occupy part of the coast for the purpose of preventing assistance being given to the Medas islands, I hope your Excellency will consider it right for the forces under your command to fire upon the villages which are occupied by the enemy whenever there is a favourable opportunity; for I have no doubt that this will be one of the most efficacious means of preventing the enemy from establishing himself on some points by which he could impede our communication with other provinces.

I communicate this resolution to the authorities and justices of the villages, in order that they may abandon them in time.

Head Quarters, Areñs de Mar, November 1, 1811,

LUIS LACY.

From Captain C. to Sir Edward Pellew.

[Page 260.]

'Blake,' off Mataro: February 2, 1812.

. . . . . .

On the 29th, whilst watering at Areñs, I received information that the whole French force which had lately traversed this Principality, amounting to 7,000 men, 4,000 of which were collected from the Ampurdan, and the other 3,000 from the garrison of Barcelona, were about to make a movement along the coast; I therefore directed Captain Tower, instead of returning immediately to the Medas, which he had lately supplied with provisions and water, and which could not be in any other danger whilst the whole of the army was in this quarter, to proceed with the 'Merope' to Mataro, and concert with the Governor, Colonel O'Ryan, the most advisable means for its defence. On the morning of the 30th, the French appearing determined to occupy the town of Mataro, and the inhabitants having had notice of their approach the preceding evening, and consequently sufficient time to remove their most valuable effects, I felt myself called upon to comply with the desire of the Captain-General, repeated by Colonel O'Ryan; and opened the fire of

the squadron upon such parts of the town as appeared to be most occupied by the enemy, and which was suffering by indiscriminate plunder. The tops of the mountains were as usual covered by the irregular Spanish forces acting in guerrilla, and I was in hopes that our united efforts had inclined the enemy to quit the place. They returned, however, at night, and have continued to occupy the town partially ever since, and I judge by their movements giving each part of the army an opportunity to plunder in its turn.

We have reports from Areñs of their having lost 600 men, and the evident effects of our shot upon the houses, in the parts to which they have been directed, induces me to give credit to the assertion. In the meantime I am made very uncomfortable by the apparent necessity of continuing this disagreeable warfare, without any communication whatever with the Spanish authorities, or knowledge of the movements of their principal military force. . . . This narrative added to my preceding letter, will afford you the best means I can procure to enable you to judge of the critical state of affairs in this Principality. From the interior I get no information whatever. It appears to me, however, that the Spanish army has increased its exertions in proportion to the difficulties it has had to contend against. General Sarsfield was actually taken prisoner a few days ago, but was rescued by a Swiss grenadier of the regiment of Basa, who killed the Frenchman that had got possession of him, and recovered even the sash that he had just stripped from him. And amongst the losses which they have suffered in the late battles, I am sorry to find the names of some of those rising young men most distinguished for their gallantry. Besides Colonel Reding, severely wounded on the 19th, Colonels Villamil and Creuft, also of the division of Eroles, were wounded in the late hard-fought battle of the 24th, in which the French are said to have left 600 dead on the field; and Colonel Jalon, who has so often distinguished himself with the cuirassiers, and was left at Mataro to recover from an accidental wound he received at Belpouig, was killed at the head of a guerrilla party on the 31st. I have received information that the enemy have fortified Cadagues, and have occupied Palamos for the same purpose; they have also erected a battery upon Mongat, and are, I suspect, about to fortify a convent at Mataro, without the reach of our shot. And by their present movements I am led to believe they expect reinforcements which will enable them to secure partially, or overrun at will the towns on this part of the coast.

Areñs: February 4.

Captain Shaw having called at Peniscola on his way, informs me that from parties and dissensions in the garrison, and from the Governor having no troops on which he can rely, he fears the place will surrender as soon as ever the French begin to batter it, which they may be expected to do to-day or to-morrow. The enemy still hold their position in and about Areñs de Mont, and as we neither see nor hear anything of the regular Spanish army, I fear there is a strong French force in the interior. Mr. Tupper (brother of the Consul) says there is no doubt of a reinforcement of 6,000 men having been sent from Valencia by General Suchet into this Principality. I am told there has been no bread in Areñs for these three days; and should the enemy be able to continue in possession of the coast, I fear a great many of the natives will actually be famished. . . . .

&c., &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

Capt. C. to the 'Junta' of Catalonia.

[Page 271.]

H.B.M. ship 'Blake,' off Areñs de Mar: March 30, 1312.

MOST EXCELLENT SIRS,—In attention to your Excellencies' letter of the 20th which I received yesterday, I shall hasten to Villa Nueva as much as circumstances will admit of, in order to meet the gentlemen whom you have done me the honour to appoint to communicate with me.

In the meantime I feel it incumbent on me to tell you, that I have little hope of much lasting benefit arising from the adoption of any measures which those gentlemen may propose, until there may be a decided change in the system which now prevails in the Principality. It would seem to be unknown to your Excellencies that the enemy's troops receive ample supplies from this part of the Province, and walk about unarmed as if they were in their own country; whilst the money offered by the English ships will not procure us the few articles which we require for the health of our people, and whilst the poorer Catalans themselves are almost starving with hunger.

A letter which I wrote to the Justice of Areñs de Mar some time ago, was returned to me a week afterwards because nobody could be persuaded to open it. And the enclosed

paper will show you most clearly, that the order of a French Commissary in the absence of their army, is treated with more respect than the authority of your Excellencies the Superior Junta of this Principality, even by one of your own Commissioners. Let me intreat your Excellencies to consider well what has produced this lamentable state of things, and to lose no time in seeking a remedy; lest one of the French Commissaries should actually be put into the very office which your Excellencies now hold.

I have no hesitation in frankly offering my conviction that the whole of these evils arise from the disarming of the people, and the want of that equal justice between the poor and the richer culprits, so inconsistent with the new Constitution decreed by the Cortes.

The rapid re-organization and successes of the army, I attribute entirely to the confidence inspired by the proclamation for a general arming. And I am therefore of opinion that all the present misfortunes which are felt upon the coast, are owing to the adoption of a directly opposite system.

It will hardly be believed, that in Cataluña, a country so famed for its courage and its hatred to the French, large convoys of provisions should pass from Gerona to Barcelona without a single musket opposed to them! And I must confess my hopes for its future prosperity have been very much lessened, by seeing a mere handful of Briballa not amounting to fifty, pass and repass, plundering the towns as they went, quite unmolested, and carrying off such people as have formerly borne arms under the Proclamation, even when there were no French troops near enough to assist them!

The French themselves are no less aware than your Excellencies must be, of the impossibility of such things taking place if the people were allowed to defend themselves.

It may seem somewhat intrusive in a foreigner who lives entirely on board his ship, pointing out to your Excellencies circumstances with which from your own interest as individuals, as well as from the sacred character of your high office, you should be so much better acquainted. But besides being prompted by the anxiety which I shall ever retain for the welfare of this noble Principality, I beg to point out to your Excellencies that the events above mentioned have made it my paramount, although painful duty, to inform my Commander-in-Chief that under present circumstances I do not think it advisable for him to send that extensive assistance which I recommended upon wit-

nessing the confidence and reanimation of the country which arose from the late proclamation.*

The cruelties practised by the French upon the villages of Campins and Gualba, show how much they have suffered from the persevering hostility of the peasantry. And I am persuaded that a return to this dreaded warfare would remove them immediately from this coast, although it were to receive no more assistance than it has lately had, from the regular forces of the country.

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From Captain C. to Sir Edward Pellew.

[Page 272.]

'Blake,' off Villa Nueva: April 8, 1812.

SIR,—I met the deputies from the Superior Junta (Señor Abad de Bassalu, and Señor Francisco Ferrar y Font) off Barcelona on the 1st, coming to meet me in the 'Merope.' Although their professed object was to make some arrangements for supplying the interior with corn, in order to subsist the army and lessen the distresses of the people, it is evident that they wished also to ascertain if the country were really in the state represented in my letters. I therefore took them down the coast to Areñs de Mar: and landed them the next morning at Canet, under the protection of one of our carronade boats. They had not been on shore half an hour before they were obliged to seek refuge in the boat from a small party of French passing near the town, whose arrival was announced only by telegraph from this ship, without any warning whatever from the people: and they had the mortification of seeing four scattered Frenchmen march through the main street of the native place of the latter-named justly popular patriot, perfectly unmolested. They confessed upon their return on board, that the information which I had sent to the Junta fell short even of what they themselves had witnessed, and that nothing but ocular demonstration could have assured them of so melancholy a fact, of which neither their colleagues at Berga nor the Captain-General could have the smallest notion. I landed them again at Villa Nueva on the 5th under the most flattering assurances of the Junta being ready to co-operate with *me* in any plans which I might propose for the good

* For a general arming of the people.

of the Principality: and of their determination to press their colleagues to shake off that subservience to the will of the Captain-General, which was exemplified by their not resisting the late breach of faith to which they attributed their principal misfortunes. They also assured me that they would individually raise their voices against the despotism and unequal justice, which had become the system of rule, owing to the influence held over the Captain-General by the Intendant and by General Sarsfield. And they fully agreed with me, that an English division assisted by the armed peasantry, would restore their country to that strength, freedom, and independence which was the object of their exertions.

Captain C. to Admiral Sir Edward Pellew.

[Page 289.]

'Blake,' Salou Bay: September 27, 1812.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that, according to a plan previously arranged between the Baron d'Eroles and myself; a joint attack was made last night on the Puerto of Tarragona, and the Mole swept of all vessels and boats which had there sought protection.

The boats of the two ships reached the Francoli at about one o'clock; and shortly afterwards the Baron, having properly posted his troops for intercepting any sortie which might be made by the garrison, and for cutting off the retreat of such people as might be in the vessels and the lower town, gave the concerted signal for the boats to open their fire. The enemy were taken so completely by surprise, that some time elapsed before they returned a shot; and I understand General Bartoletti, the Governor, actually mounted his horse without boots or stockings. Seeing only the fire of the boats, about 200 grenadiers came out of the town, but being met by a volley of musketry from a small party of the Spanish troops in ambush at the Capuchin Convent, and being then charged with the bayonet, those who were able made the best of their way back again. The position of the Olivo, occupied by a party of Briballa (Calagirats), was carried in the meantime, in a very animated manner; and several false attacks on the walls of the fortress attracted the attention of the enemy, and occasioned a brisk fire of cannon from their whole line. The boats then pulled into the Mole; and having finished the operation allotted to them, notwithstanding an angry discharge of shot and shells from

the town, the troops retired to Rens, and the ships anchored with the prizes in Tarragona Bay.

It would be great presumption in me to offer an opinion on the military conduct of the Baron d'Eroles, who gains the respect and the regard of all who act with him, as well as all who act under his orders. But I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of remarking, that such was the secrecy and silence of his march, that when the troops and boats were each contiguous to each other in their appointed stations, each doubted the other's arrival until the concerted signal was made; and such was the steadiness and good order of the troops, who killed or drove back by the bayonet all the force of the enemy which ventured to oppose them, that not a single mistake occurred.

It is also highly gratifying to me to record the confident reliance which each service placed on the conduct of the other; and the Baron has done us the honour to consent to the voluntary and unanimous request of the officers and crews of the two ships, that the whole of whatever benefit may arise from the sale of the prizes shall be given to his troops, in admiration of the valour and discipline which they showed upon the occasion.

The loss of the enemy must have been considerable, although it is impossible to ascertain it on account of the darkness of the night, and the operation under the walls of their own garrison having terminated before daylight. That of the Spaniards amounted to three killed and eight wounded, mostly by the bayonet; amongst us there was not the smallest casualty whatever.

Underneath is a list of the vessels brought out.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

EDWD. CODRINGTON.

From Mr. Wellesley to Lord Castlereagh.

[Page 308.]

Cadiz: March 9, 1813.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to enclose the translation of a letter which I have received from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, expressive of the sense entertained by the Regency of Spain of the valuable services of Captain Codrington during the period of his command upon the eastern coast of Spain; and I cannot do less than express my concurrence in the sentiments of the Spanish Government with respect to the

zeal, activity, and judgment with which Captain Codrington has executed the important duties entrusted to him, and which have contributed so essentially to the preservation, in full vigour, of that active spirit of resistance to the French yoke, which has so much distinguished the inhabitants of Catalonia.

I have the honour to be, &c., &c.,

H. WELLESLEY.

Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c.

From the Spanish Minister to Mr. Wellesley.

Cadiz: March 8, 1813.

SIR,—The Regency of the kingdom has commissioned me to inform your Excellency that under this day's date, an order has been issued to the King's Ambassador at the court of London, to recommend, in the name of his Highness, to the Government of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the strongest manner, the important and signal services which Commodore Codrington has rendered during his cruise in the Mediterranean; a great part of the successful actions which the army of Catalonia have had being to be attributed to the assistance which he afforded, and to his co-operation and advice, by which army, as well as by all the inhabitants of that province, this officer is held in the highest estimation. For all these reasons, the Regency are most desirous of giving him a high testimony of their gratitude, and would esteem it a new proof of the friendship of the Government of his Royal Highness whatever may be done in favour of a person who has fulfilled with such zeal the intentions of the august ally of Spain, and has contributed by his valour, talents, and excellent qualities, to raise amongst the Spaniards the credit of the British nation.

I have the honour to lay this representation before your Excellency, in order that you may have the goodness to do all in your power that those just wishes of the Regency may have the desired effect.

I renew to your Excellency, &c., &c.,

PEDRO LABRADOR.*

* NOTE BY SIR E. C. ON THE LETTER.—'This letter was never placed before the Prince Regent by Lord Castlereagh.'

Translation of a note from the Spanish Ambassador in London to the Minister for Foreign Affairs (Lord Castlereagh).

Grafton Street: April 9, 1813.

The undersigned Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of his Catholic Majesty Don Fernando VII. presents his respects to his Excellency Viscount Castlereagh, Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and by order of his Government, has the honour to state to him, with the view of their being duly considered, the important services performed by Commodore Codrington during his cruise in the Mediterranean; as, to his assistance, co-operation, and advice, is owing a great part of the successful engagements fought by his Majesty's army in Catalonia; which, in common with all the inhabitants of that province, highly respect and esteem him on that account. The Regency of Spain being desirous of offering to Commodore Codrington an unequivocal testimony of their gratitude for his services, which, though performed in favour of that country, redound essentially to the good of the common cause defended alike by Spain and her intimate ally and old friend, England, have expressly directed the undersigned to recommend the Commodore to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent in the strongest manner; and to add that his Highness will consider as a new proof of friendship any favour conferred by his Royal Highness on a person who has so zealously fulfilled the instructions of the august ally of Spain, and has contributed to raise among the Spaniards still higher if possible, than before, the well-merited character of the generous British nation for valour, talents, and excellent qualities.

The undersigned, in complying with the directions of his Government, is confident that his Excellency Lord Castlereagh, in conveying them to the knowledge of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, will at the same time exert his powerful influence, which doubtless will operate not a little towards rewarding the services of that good servant of his Britannic Majesty, who by his skill and other high qualities has so greatly assisted in destroying the French in Catalonia. The undersigned embraces this fresh opportunity to repeat to his Excellency Lord Castlereagh the sincerest assurances of his distinguished consideration.

CONDE DE FERNAN NUNEZ, DUQUE DE MONTILLANO.

To his Excellency Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

Protocol relative to the Affairs of Greece.

[Page 402.]

St. Petersburgh: April 4, 1826.

His Britannic Majesty, having been requested by the Greeks to interpose his good offices in order to obtain their reconciliation with the Ottoman Porte—having, in consequence, offered his mediation to that Power, and being desirous of concerting the measures of his Government, upon this subject, with his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; and his Imperial Majesty, on the other hand, being equally animated by the desire of putting an end to the contest of which Greece and the Archipelago are the theatre, by an arrangement which should be consistent with the principles of religion, justice, and humanity, the undersigned have agreed—

1st.—That the arrangement to be proposed to the Porte if that Government should accept the proffered mediation, should have for its object to place the Greeks towards the Ottoman Porte in the relation hereafter mentioned. Greece should be a dependency of that Empire, and the Greeks should pay to the Porte an annual tribute, the amount of which should be permanently fixed by common consent. They should be exclusively governed by the authorities to be chosen and named by themselves, but in the nomination of which authorities the Porte should have a certain influence. In this state the Greeks should enjoy a complete liberty of conscience, entire freedom of commerce, and should exclusively conduct their own internal government. In order to effect a complete separation between individuals of the two nations, and to prevent the collisions which must be the necessary consequences of a contest of such duration, the Greeks should purchase the property of Turks whether situated on the continent of Greece or in the islands.

2. In case the principle of a mediation between Turks and Greeks should have been admitted in consequence of the steps taken with that view by his Britannic Majesty's ambassador at Constantinople, his Imperial Majesty would exert, in every case, his influence to forward the object of that mediation. The mode in which, and the time at which, his Imperial Majesty should take part in the ulterior negotiations with the Ottoman Porte, which may be the consequence of that mediation, should be determined hereafter by the common consent of the Governments of his Britannic Majesty and his Imperial Majesty.

3. If the mediation offered by his Britannic Majesty should

not have been accepted by the Porte, and whatever may be the nature of the relations between his Imperial Majesty and the Turkish Government, his Britannic Majesty and his Imperial Majesty will still consider the terms of the arrangement specified in No. 1 of this protocol, as the basis of any reconciliation to be effected by their intervention, whether in concert or separately, between the Porte and the Greeks; and they will avail themselves of every favourable opportunity to exert their influence with both parties, in order to effect their reconciliation on the above-mentioned basis.

4. That his Britannic Majesty and his Imperial Majesty should reserve to themselves to adopt hereafter the measures necessary for the settlement of the details of the arrangement in question, as well as the limits of the territory, and the names of the islands of the Archipelago to which it shall be applicable, and which it shall be proposed to the Porte to comprise under the denomination of Greece.

5. That moreover his Britannic Majesty and his Imperial Majesty will not seek, in this arrangement, any increase of territory, nor any exclusive influence, nor advantage in commerce for their subjects, which shall not be equally attainable by all other nations.

6. That his Britannic Majesty and his Imperial Majesty, being desirous that their allies should become parties to the definitive arrangements of which this protocol contains the outline, will communicate this instrument, confidentially, to the courts of Vienna, Paris, and Berlin, and will propose to them that they should, in concert with the Emperor of Russia, guarantee the Treaty by which the reconciliation of Turks and Greeks shall be effected, as his Britannic Majesty cannot guarantee such a Treaty.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.
NESSELRODE.
LIEVEN.

St. Petersburg, March 23, 1826.

Treaty for the Pacification of Greece, between his Majesty, the Most Christian King, and the Emperor of all the Russias.

[Page 402.]

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his Majesty the King of France

and Navarre, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, penetrated with the necessity of putting an end to the sanguinary struggle which, while it abandons the Greek provinces and the islands of the Archipelago to all the disorders of anarchy, daily causes fresh impediments to the commerce of the States of Europe, and gives opportunity for acts of piracy which not only expose the subjects of the high contracting parties to grievous losses, but also render necessary measures which are burthensome for their observation and suppression:—

H. M. the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and H. M. the King of France and Navarre, having moreover received from the Greeks an earnest invitation to interpose their mediation with the Ottoman Porte; and, together with H. M. the Emperor of all the Russias, being animated with the desire of putting a stop to the effusion of blood and of preventing the evils of every kind which the continuance of such a state of affairs may produce, they have resolved to combine their efforts, and to regulate the operation thereof by a formal Treaty, for the object of re-establishing peace between the contending parties, by means of an arrangement called for no less by sentiments of humanity than by interest for the tranquillity of Europe. For these purposes they have named their Plenipotentiaries to discuss, conclude, and sign the said Treaty, that is to say, his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable William Viscount Dudley, a Peer of the Realm, &c. Here follow the names of the Plenipotentiaries—Lord Dudley, Prince Polignac, and Count Lieven, their titles, &c.

Article I.—The contracting Powers shall offer their mediation to the Ottoman Porte, with the view of effecting a reconciliation between it and the Greeks. This offer of mediation shall be made to that Power immediately after the ratification of the present Treaty, by means of a joint declaration, signed by the Plenipotentiaries of the Allied Courts at Constantinople; and, at the same time, a demand for an immediate armistice shall be made to the two contending parties, as a preliminary and indispensable condition to the opening of any negotiation.

Article II.—The arrangement to be proposed to the Ottoman Porte shall rest upon the following bases:—The Greeks shall hold under the Sultan as under a Lord Paramount; and in consequence thereof, they shall pay to the Ottoman Empire an annual tribute, the amount of which shall be fixed, once for all, by agreement. They shall be

governed by authorities whom they shall choose for themselves, but in the nomination of whom the Porte shall have a defined right. In order to effect a complete separation between the individuals of the two nations, and to prevent the collisions which would be the inevitable consequence of so protracted a struggle, the Greeks shall become possessors of all Turkish property situated either upon the continent or in the islands of Greece, on condition of indemnifying the former proprietors, either by an annual sum to be added to the tribute which they shall pay to the Porte or by some other arrangement of the same nature.

ARTICLE III.—The details of this arrangement, as well as the limits of the territory upon the continent, and the designation of the islands of the Archipelago to which it shall be applicable, shall be settled by a negotiation to be hereafter entered into between the High Powers and the two contending parties.

ARTICLE IV.—The contracting Powers engage to pursue the salutary work of the pacification of Greece upon the basis laid down in the preceding articles, and to furnish, without the least delay, their representatives at Constantinople with all the instructions which are required for the execution of the Treaty which they now sign.

ARTICLE V.—The contracting Powers will not seek, in these arrangements, any augmentation of territory, any exclusive influence, or any commercial advantage for their subjects which those of any other nation may not equally obtain.

ARTICLE VI.—The arrangements for reconciliation and peace which shall be definitively agreed upon between the contending parties, shall be guaranteed by those of the signing Powers who may judge it expedient or possible to contract that obligation. The operation and the effects of such guarantee shall become the subject of future stipulation between the high Powers.

ARTICLE VII.—The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be exchanged in two months, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms. Done at London 6th of July 1827.

(Signed) DUDLEY.
PRINCE DE POLIGNAC.
LIEVEN.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

In case the Ottoman Porte should not, within the space of one month, accept the mediation which is to be proposed to it, the high contracting parties agree upon the following measures:—

First.—It shall be declared to the Porte, by their representatives at Constantinople, that the inconveniences and evils described in the patent Treaty as inseparable from the state of things which has, for six years, existed in the East, and the termination of which, by the means at the command of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, appears to be still distant, impose upon the high contracting parties the necessity of taking immediate measures for forming a connection with the Greeks. It is understood that this shall be effected by establishing commercial relations with the Greeks, and by sending to and receiving from them, for this purpose, consular agents, provided there shall exist in Greece authorities capable of supporting such relations.

Second.—If, within the said term of one month, the Porte does not accept the armistice proposed in the First Article of the patent Treaty, or if the Greeks refuse to carry it into execution, the high contracting Powers shall declare to either of the high contending parties which may be disposed to continue hostilities, or to both of them, if necessary, that the said high Powers intend to exert all the means which circumstances may suggest to their prudence, for the purpose of obtaining the immediate effects of the armistice of which they desire the execution, by preventing, as far as possible, all collision between the contending parties; and in consequence, immediately after the above-mentioned declaration, the high Powers will, jointly, exert all their efforts to accomplish the objects of such armistice, without, however, taking any part in the hostilities between the two contending parties. Immediately after the signature of the present additional article, the high contracting Powers will, consequently, transmit to the Admirals commanding their respective squadrons in the Levant, conditional instructions in conformity to the arrangements above declared.

Three.—Finally, if, contrary to all expectation, these measures do not prove sufficient to procure the adoption of the propositions of the high contracting parties by the Ottoman Porte; or if, on the other hand, the Greeks decline the conditions stipulated in their favour, by the Treaty of this date, the high contracting Powers will, nevertheless, continue to pursue the work of pacification on the bases on which they

have agreed; and, in consequence, they authorise, from the present moment, their representatives at London to discuss and determine the future measures which it may become necessary to employ.

The present Additional Article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty of this day. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time as those of the said Treaty. In witness whereof, &c., &c.,

(Signed respectively) DUDLEY.
PRINCE DE POLIGNAC.
LIEVEN.

Done at London the 6th day of July, 1827.

Extracts from the Instructions common to the Ambassadors, &c.

[Page 412.]

'L'Autriche n'a pas voulu signer le Traité, mais elle a déclaré, nonobstant, que les trois Cours alliées pourroient compter sur ses efforts auprès du Divan, afin de le décider à accepter leurs propositions. La Prusse a montré les mêmes dispositions.

'Car les plénipotentiaires d'Autriche et de Prusse recevront ordre de seconder vos démarches, et celles de vos collègues de France et de Russie.'

From Earl Dudley to his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral.

Foreign Office: July 13, 1827.*

SIR,—I have the King's commands to transmit to your Royal Highness the following substance of Instructions which it is his Majesty's pleasure that your Royal Highness should give to the commander-in-chief of his Majesty's naval force in the Mediterranean. A Treaty has been concluded and signed between his Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of France, the object of which is to effect by their joint mediation the termination of the struggle which has been so long going on between the Ottoman Porte and the Greeks, and which has occasioned so much inconvenience and interruption to the commerce and navigation of all European

* Received by Sir E. C. August 7.

nations. In the course of the negotiation to be opened under this Treaty with the Ottoman Porte on the one side and the Greeks on the other, it is possible that his Majesty's naval force may have occasion, in conjunction with those of the other Powers parties to the Treaty, to enforce the maintenance of an armistice by sea which the representatives of the three Powers at Constantinople are instructed, in the first instance, to propose to the Porte, and which the naval commanders of the three Powers will propose at the same time to the Greeks.

In enforcing this armistice, whether towards one or the other party, or even if the necessity should arise towards both, it will be the duty of the several naval commanders, at the same time that they do all in their power to prevent collision between the two belligerents, to avoid on their part collision with either. Copies of the Instructions which are furnished by Russia and France to their respective commanders are herewith enclosed to your Royal Highness, to be transmitted to Sir Edward Codrington. They treat in as much detail as possible in a case where so much, after all, must be left to discretion, the several modes and degrees of intervention, which the three squadrons may be required severally or jointly to exercise. And your Royal Highness is to authorise and direct Sir Edward Codrington to take similar measures with those ordered in the French and Russian Instructions. With respect to the command of the squadrons when united, it has not been thought necessary to stipulate in terms that it should rest with the British Admiral. His professional rank, as compared with that of the French and Russian commanders, as well as his long services and high reputation, will no doubt ensure him that deference from his colleagues which may be necessary for the well carrying on of the common service.

Sir Edward Codrington is to be instructed to avoid the putting forward of any claim to the general command, which, however, it is to be hoped will, for the reasons stated, be substantially conceded to him on any occasions which may require it; but he is, of course, on no account to place himself under that of the other commanders. Sir Edward Codrington is also to be instructed to put himself in communication with the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, whom he will furnish with every information relative to the object of his Instructions, and whom he will keep constantly acquainted with the progress of their execution. For the further information of Sir Edward Codrington I transmit to your Royal Highness copies of the Instructions to the repre-

sentatives of the contracting parties at Constantinople, together with a copy of the Protocol of the Conference at which they were agreed upon.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect, &c.,

DUDLEY.

TRANSLATION.

First Instructions furnished in common to the Officers commanding in the Seas of the Levant, of the respective Squadrons of the High Contracting Powers, as agreed upon between the Plenipotentiaries of those High Powers, on the 12th of July, 1827.

(D.)

SIR,—England, France, and Russia, having resolved to employ all their influence, as well with the Ottoman Porte as with the Greeks, to bring about between them a reconciliation, have regulated by a formal Treaty, signed at London the 6th of July, 1827, of which I have the honour to enclose to you a copy, the measures which they intend to adopt in concert for accomplishing this object.

According to the first Article of this Treaty, the contracting Powers design, collectively, to offer their mediation to the Ottoman Porte, by means of a declaration made in their names by their Plenipotentiaries at Constantinople. They have engaged to inform the Greeks of this offer, and to demand at the same time of the contending parties an immediate armistice between them, as the preliminary condition indispensably to be fulfilled previously to the opening of any negotiation.*

The steps to be taken with the Ottoman Government are entrusted to the Plenipotentiaries of the three Courts; and the three officers commanding their naval forces in the Archipelago will have to take those which are necessary with regard to the Greeks.

In consequence of the above arrangement, the King has directed me to communicate to you the following instructions, which are similar to those supplied to the naval forces of France and Russia.

On receiving the present despatch, and after understanding its purport, you are to repair to the commanders in question, and let them peruse it. You will then agree with them in what manner intimation is to be given to the

* The Plenipotentiaries delivered their Declaration to the Porte on August 16 limiting to fifteen days the time for receiving the answer.

Commission of the Provisional Government of Greece of the mission entrusted to you. As soon as this preliminary arrangement shall have been made, you will address to that Commission the Declaration, a form of which you will find enclosed. The Delaration ought to be collective, and signed by each of the three Commanders, who, in this act, as well as in all steps to be taken by them, will proceed on the same principle, inasmuch as it is the intention of the three Courts to act only in concert and in such a manner that none of them may seem to have the pre-eminence over the other. The Declaration, which, as you will find, contains the announcement made to the Ottoman Porte of the mediation, and, at the same time, demands an armistice, must be presented by a superior officer of each squadron chosen by their respective commanders.

This officer is to wait for the answer from the Commission of the Government, and to press on them the necessity of returning the same as speedily as possible. The Declaration ought to be addressed collectively to the three commanders of the naval forces. It is presumable that the Commission will not be able to reply until they have consulted the Assembly at present holding its sittings at Troezene.* It would, nevertheless, be extremely desirable to avoid this delay, and you will endeavour to obviate it.

It is necessary to inform you, as it is for you to acquaint the Greeks, that while you transmit your Declaration to them, a similar step is simultaneously taken at Constantinople by the Plenipotentiaries of the three Courts. As soon as the answer demanded by you shall have been placed in your hands, you will lose no time in despatching to me duplicates of it by the quickest conveyance. You will at the same time send a copy to the Ambassador at Constantinople. If the Greeks consent to a truce, you are to consider, in concert with your colleagues, of the measures which may be most proper and most expeditious for putting a period to hostilities and to the effusion of blood.

The moment that the war shall be suspended, in consequence of orders issued to that effect, you will suggest to the Commission of the Greek Government the propriety of appointing Plenipotentiaries charged with the principal negotiation between them and the Porte.

The same will be proposed to the Ottoman Government by the Ambassadors of the three Courts of England, France, and Russia, and you will be informed of the result. Should it be

* NOTE BY SIR E. C.—Not holding any such sittings.

favourable, you will urge the meeting of the respective Plenipotentiaries.

I need not inform you, Sir, that in trusting to you the mission which is the object of the present despatch, his Majesty intended to give you a particular proof of his esteem and benevolence. His Majesty is aware that you will execute it with the zeal, prudence, and ability which you have uniformly displayed from the time you have been nominated to the command of the station in the Archipelago.

DUDLEY.c
THE PRINCE OF POLIGNAC.
LIEVEN.

TRANSLATION.

Second Instruction given, in common, to the Officers commanding the respective Squadrons of the High Contracting Parties in the Seas of the Levant. Agreed upon by the Plenipotentiaries of the said High Powers in London the 12th July, 1827.

(F.)

SIR,—The Courts of England, France, and Russia, on resolving to offer their mediation to the Ottoman Porte, have duly anticipated the probability of those propositions not being accepted. They have in consequence, by a secret article of the Treaty, signed in London, determined that if in the space of a month dating from the delivery of the Declaration of their Plenipotentiaries at Constantinople, the Porte should not have admitted the mediation of the three Courts, and not have consented to the armistice, they would declare to it that they would exert themselves by all means which circumstances might suggest to their prudence, to obtain the immediate effects of the armistice, the execution of which they desire. The measures to be adopted in consequence of that Declaration will consist in an immediate communication with the Greeks, and the union of the squadrons of the high Powers for the purpose of preventing all Turkish or Egyptian succours of men, arms, vessels, and warlike stores, from arriving in Greece or in the islands of the Archipelago.

These squadrons from that time shall treat the Greeks as friends, without, however, taking part in the hostilities betwixt the contending parties. Should this hypothesis be realised, you will be informed thereof directly by the King's ambassador at Constantinople, who is instructed to correspond with you, in the same manner as the ambassador of his Most Catholic Majesty and the minister of his Majesty

the Emperor of all the Russias, will correspond with the Commanders of the naval forces of their Governments. The informations which you may receive, and the directions which may accompany them, to which you will be pleased to conform, will be concerted between the three Ambassadors; and the proceedings and arrangements which these Ambassadors shall have pointed out, as well as those which circumstances may render necessary, must be arranged between you and the French and Russian Commanders.

In the event anticipated of the refusal of the Porte to admit the mediation and to consent to an armistice, you will then, in the first place, have to enter on friendly relations with the Greeks, and next to intercept every supply sent by sea of men, arms, &c., destined against Greece and coming either from Turkey or Africa in general. This last measure is that which requires the greatest caution, and above all a complete understanding as to operations between the three chiefs of the naval forces. What appears most simple is that each of them with the squadron placed under his orders should take a station which may enable him, on a given point, to defend the approach to the Greek continent or islands, and also to afford assistance to both his colleagues should the occasion require it.

The points for these stations cannot be fixed without the more perfect knowledge of the localities, and in that respect I leave you, of course, entirely at liberty.

You are aware that you ought to be most particularly careful that the measures which you may adopt against the Ottoman navy do not degenerate into hostilities. The formal intention of the Powers is to interpose as conciliators, and to establish, in fact, on sea, the armistice which the Porte would not conclude as a right. Every hostile proceeding would be at variance with the pacific ground which they have chosen to take, and the display of the forces which they have assembled is destined to cause that wish to be respected; but they must not be put into use unless the Turks persist in forcing the passages which they have intercepted.

A second case is equally anticipated by the three Courts, which is, that if the Porte should consent to an armistice, the Greeks may reject it, or break it after accepting it. It has been agreed that then the united squadrons shall endeavour to maintain the armistice without taking part in the hostilities between the two contending parties. It is also in the places themselves where you must judge of the best means to attain this object, if the event anticipated should take place.

It is evident, Sir, that these Instructions cannot foresee all

the possible cases, and that a certain latitude must necessarily be given to you, which the king fully grants.

*And it is of importance that you should have a perfect knowledge of the object proposed by the Powers, and of the means on which they reckon to effect it.

In short, the most perfect understanding should be established between you and your colleagues of France and Russia: these three essential points pre-supposed, it will be easy for you to resolve all the difficulties which may arise. It will be necessary also that you should reciprocally communicate the details which you may address to the united Ambassadors at Constantinople, and you ought to perceive that the slightest deviation on the essential points would impede the progress of the negotiations and remove indefinitely the object wished to be obtained.

DUDLEY.
LE PRINCE DE POLIGNAC.
LIEVEN.

* The word *and*, by reference to the French original appears to be improperly inserted in this translation, and is liable to throw a doubt upon the three points alluded to.—NOTE BY SIR E. C.

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